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MISCELLANEOUS

STATE PAPERS.

From 1501 to 1726.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

VETUSTIS NOVITATEM DARE, NOVIS AUCTORITATEM,
OBSOLETIS NITOREM, OBSCURIS LUCEM, DUBIIS FIDEM, &c.
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PREFACE.

AS the Public muſt ultimately decide on the merits of every work, and their opinion is neither to be corrupted by flattery, nor biaſſed by prejudice, the Editor thinks nothing elſe neceſſary, by way of Introduction, than to open the plan of the Collection, and to aſſign a few reaſons, for adding one more to the numerous publications of this kind, which the world is already poſſeſſed of.

The principal idea which has prevailed in the choice of the materials, has been, not to dwell too long on any one ſubject, or any one period; and to ſelect ſuch papers, as mark moſt ſtrongly the characters of celebrated Princes and their Miniſters, and illuſtrate ſome memorable æra, or remarkable ſeries of events. It ſeems ſuperfluous to obſerve, that the introductions prefixed to moſt of the articles will connect (as far as was practicable) the different diviſions of the work with general hiſtory, and lead the reader's attention to ſuch points as he may think deſerve it beſt. Notes are occaſionally inſerted at the bottom of the page, with the ſame view: and it is hoped they will not be thought either tedious or trifling.

The Editor is well aware of the diſguſt which often ariſes to a delicate taſte, from the antiquated ſtyle and ſtiff phraſeology, which unavoidably occur in theſe publications of hiſtorical documents. It is preſumed, however, that many nervous and able diſpatches will be found here, of a remote date, which do credit to the compoſitions of thoſe early times, on topics of buſineſs. And it may be fairly aſſerted, that new lights are thrown on the conduct and characters of ſome eminent perſons; as Burleigh, Walſingham, Leiceſter, and Charles I.; notwithſtanding that part of our hiſtory may appear to ſuperficial readers to have been already exhauſted.

Some facts and incidents of ſmall importance may, indeed, be pointed out, in the courſe of the papers, as languid and unintereſting. But it is to be conſidered, that in every picture there muſt be ſome ſhades; and that it was impoſſible to avoid this objection but by giving broken extracts; by which mode the connection and arrangement of the writer's narrative and ſentiments would have been greatly diſturbed. The reader will conſult his taſte, and turn over thoſe pages, where nothing attracts him: though the Editor flatters himſelf that many ſuch will not be met with. He will not attempt to recommend himſelf at the expence of thoſe who have gone before him;

him; and therefore declines giving any reaſons why the plan he has adopted may deſerve the preference.

Whoever looks into theſe Volumes will be better prepared for his future entertainment, if he pleaſes to conſider the work before him as an hiſtorical picture gallery, where the different modes and faſhions of upwards of two centuries are exhibited in regular ſucceſſion. The politics and ſentiments of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's time, differ as much from thoſe of William III. and of George I. as the ruff and fardingale in the habits of the former, from the hoop petticoat, and long pockets of the latter. There may be pieces of inferior maſters in the gallery; but, doubtleſs, ſome Titians and Vandykes will be diſtinguiſhed.—The relation of the Princeſs Catherine's reception, with which we open, and of the late Queen of France's marriage, with which we conclude, as they repreſent the faſhions and ceremonial of the reſpective times, may be thought good companions to the picture of the *Champ de Drap d'Or*, in Windſor Caſtle.

The Editor cannot conclude, without acknowledging the uſeful aſſiſtance which he has received from the Rev. Dr. Douglas, Reſidentiary of St. Paul's. It is difficult to ſay, whether the zeal of that gentleman on every occaſion, where a friend is concerned, or the judgment and ability which he exerts in ſerving him, are moſt conſpicuous.

Nothing remains but to ſubmit this Collection, with proper reſignation and deference, to the judgment of the Public. Their information and amuſement have been the only objects in view; and, it is hoped, the endeavour will be attended with ſome ſucceſs.

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E R R A T A.

Moſt of which are Miſtakes of the Tranſcriber of the Original MSS.

Page 46. line 23. *for* blotted out, *read* bolted out.
50. 23. *for* Roan, *read* Rhine.
69. 30. *for* Chenevy, *read* Geneva.
86. 22. *for* Sunday, *read* Saturday.
94. 7. *for* not unpuniſhed, *read* unpuniſhed.
95. 11. *for* which marble, *read* white marble.
24. *for* pledges, *read* pages.
113. &c. *for* Newhavenbridge, *read* Newnambridge.
118. 15. *for* both, *read* loth.
121. 15. *for* remarkable, *read* remarkably.
131. 24. *for* move, *read* give.
350. 10. *for* told, *read* bold.
353. 7. *for* defend, *read* offend.
399. 15. *for* though a man of Honour, *read* in the main a man of Honour.
409. 5. from bottom, *for* come, *read* Rome.
433. 7. *for* to caſt ourſelves, *read* to part ourſelves.
555. 8. *for* 'tis inflexible, *read* us inflexible.
556. 20. *for* promiſed, *read* premiſed.
558. *for* From the Same to Lord Doncaſter, *read*, From the Same to the Same.

MISCELLANEOUS
STATE PAPERS,
&c. &c. &c.

No. I.

Certain Notes taken out of the Entertainment of Katherine, *Wife of* Arthur, *Prince of Wales, Oct.* 1501.

Harleian Collection, 69. 25.

[This is printed * as a curious ſpecimen of State ceremonial during times, when the pomp, order, and magnificence of Courts were kept up to the height. The Princeſs too, who was the occaſion of it, was innocently, but unfortunately for herſelf, the ſource of great events.]

IT is ordained, that my Lord Steward †, and the other perſons thereto appointed, be attending upon the Princeſs in their barks, ſomewhat before ſhe come to Graveſend, and there hail and ſalute in the beſt manner they can; and that the minſtrels fail not to do their parts as accordeth to them, and as ſoon as her ſhip ſhall be fallen to an anchor, the ſaid Lord Steward and all other Nobles ſhall go into the ſhip wherein the ſaid Princeſs ſhall be, and after the

* In the fifth volume of the laſt edition of Leland's Collectanea, p. 352, &c. is a narrative of the Princeſs Katherine's *arrival and reception*, &c.; but it differs entirely from what is here laid before the public; containing only her journey from Plymouth, where ſhe landed, to Kennington near Lambeth, where ſhe continued till every thing was prepared for her public entry; the particulars of which, never before printed, are the ſubject of the preſent article. A *Narrative of the juſts, banquets, and diſguiſings*, after the marriage, may be ſeen in the above volume of the Collectanea, from p. 356, to p. 373. † Lord Brooke.

HENRY VII.

King's commendations made by my ſaid Lord Steward; the Queen's by her Chamberlain, and the Prince's, by his Chamberlain, in ſuch form as they ſhall be by them commanded; the Prior of Canterbury ſhall ſay the propoſition, after the which, my ſaid Lord Steward ſhall ſhew, or cauſe to be ſhewed to the ſaid Princeſs, that the King's Grace, tenderly conſidering her great and long pain and travel upon the ſea, would full gladly that ſhe had landed and lodged for the night at Graveſend: but foraſmuch as the plague was there of late, and that is not yet clean purged thereof, the King would not that ſhe ſhould be put in any ſuch adventure or danger, and therefore his Grace hath commanded the bark to be prepared and arrayed for her lodging: wherefore he ſhall on the King's behalf deſire her, for her more eaſe and relief, to depart out of her own ſhip into the ſaid bark; declaring to her alſo, that in the ſame ſhe ſhall be conveyed to the city of London: and if it ſhall pleaſe the ſaid Princeſs ſo to do, my ſaid Lord Steward ſhall ſee that ſhe ſhall be well and honourably entreated and entertained, in every behalf, and that ſhe be ſerved in the ſaid bark of her diets, as appertaineth; and though the ſaid Princeſs will not in any wiſe depart out of her ſhip into the ſaid bark, before ſuch time as ſhe ſhall be ſtrait conveyed into the city, the King's commandment yet is, that ſhe have the ſaid diets and all ſuch victuals and wines as be provided for her, ſent her in her ſhip, and there ſerved with the ſame.

Item, That there be certain Ladies appointed by the Queen's Grace, to give their attendance upon the ſaid Princeſs, that is to ſay, the Dutcheſs of Norfolk and ſix women: the Counteſs of Kent and four women: the Counteſs of Salop and four women: the Lady Hungerford and two women: the Lady Grey, wife to the Earl of Kent's ſon, and two women: the Lady Abergavenny and two women: the Lady Cobham and two women: Dame Catherine Grey and one woman: Dame Jane Guilford and one woman: Dame Elizabeth Vaux and one woman: Dame Elizabeth Darcy and one woman: Dame Margaret Poyntz and one woman:

Dame Ann Tyrrel and one woman: Dame Eleanor Wyndham and one woman: Dame Tomazin Riſte and one woman: Dame Iſabella Poynings and one woman: Dame Sibill Scott and one woman: Dame Jane Darrell, wife to Sir Edward Darrell, and one woman: Dame Mary Lewis, wife to Sir Richard Lewis, and one woman: Dame Beautrix Tyrrel, wife to Sir Thomas Tyrrel, and one woman: Mrs. Hungerford, wife to the ſon and heir of Sir Walter Hungerford: Mrs. Wynham: Mrs. Fettyplace: Mrs. Ruſſel: Mrs. Katherine Griffith, wife to the ſon and heir of Sir Rice ap Thomas: Mrs. Elizabeth Calthrop: and letters of the ſame intent forthwith to be ſent by the Queen's Grace to the ſaid Ladies, and all other Ladies, that ſhall give any attendance, or do any ſervice at this feaſt, be forthwith written out to prepare them for their attendance: and that they be advertiſed by the ſame letters, to be ready upon an hour's warning, to come at ſuch time, and at ſuch place as ſhall be aſſigned unto them by the Queen's ſecond letters: and that William Hollibrand, one of the Cuſtomers of London, for the cauſe following, be then attending the ſaid Dutcheſs: and that the Queen's Chamberlain call diligently upon the ſaid letters to be ſent out unto the ſaid Ladies, and give unto them warning at their coming, how they ſhall order themſelves for the ſaid intent in every behalf.

Item, That the ſaid Dutcheſs and Ladies in their barges, be attending upon the ſaid Princeſs, in the ſaid place where ſhe ſhall lie at anchor, by the ſpace of one at the leaſt, before ſhe depart thence; whereof they ſhall have the more certain knowledge by my ſaid Lord Steward: and at their coming thither, they ſhall go to the ſaid Princeſs, to whom William Hollibrand, in as humble manner, and with as good ſpeech as he can uſe, ſhall ſhew that the ſaid Dutcheſs of Norfolk, and the other Ladies there, being preſent by the King's commandment, be come to viſit and welcome her to the realm, to give her their attendance, to do her the ſervice that may be to them poſſible, and convey her to her lodging: wherefore the

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ſaid Dutcheſs and Ladies moſt humbly beſeech her, thus to accept her and them, and to command them her good pleaſure: and my Lord Chamberlain hath the charge to give inſtruction to Hollibrand for the ordering of himſelf according to the premiſes.

Item, That certain Lords, ſpiritual and temporal, be in likewiſe the ſame time attending at the ſame place, to receive and convey the the ſaid Princeſs by water, in their barges, to London: that is to ſay, Biſhop of Norwich and Rocheſter, in one barge: the Earl of Arundell and the Lord Maltravers, in another: the Earl of Eſſex, and my Lord Montjoy, in another: my Lords of Abergavenny, Delawar, and Clinton, in another: the Lords Howard, Berneis, and Dacres, in another: the Abbots of St. Auſtin, and Battle, in another: and that the ſame Lords, in the company of the ſaid Dutcheſs, viſit the Princeſs in her ſhip. My Lord Chamberlain hath taken upon him the warning of thoſe Lords.

Item, That ſemblable letters, as the letters that the Queen's Grace ſhall write to the Ladies, whereof is mention made before, be forthwith ſent by the King's Grace, not only to the ſaid Lords and Nobles, but alſo to all others that ſhall give attendance or do any ſervice at this feaſt: and as ſoon as the King's Grace ſhall have certain knowledge of the place, port, and time, that the ſaid Princeſs ſhall be tranſported to, then both his Grace and the Queen with all diligence ſend forth the ſaid ſecond letters: and that in the ſaid ſecond letters, the time and place when and whereunto, the Lords, Ladies, and others ſhall come, be ſpecially expreſſed, and that every Biſhop and Abbot be advertiſed to bring with them their pontificals; and of theſe both firſt and ſecond letters, and the ſending of them forth, ſhall have the charge, the King and Queen's Secretaries.

Item, The ſaid Princeſs ſhall alſo be met about the Black-Wall, with the ſtates following: that is to ſay, the Duke of Bucks in one barge: the Biſhop of Bath in another: the Biſhop of Exeter in another:

another: the Earl of Northumberland in another: the Earl of Kent in another: the Lords Saintmound and Stourton in another: the Abbot of Glaſtonbury in another: the Abbot of Abingdon in another. My Lord Chamberlain ſhall advertiſe them of their attendance.

Item, The Mayor and Crafts of London ſhall meet her, in their ſeveral barges, after their manner accuſtomed, at Deptford, and every of theſe barges ſhall hail and ſalute her in the beſt manner they can, and row about behind, and upon the ſides of her ſhip, and of this attendance to be given by the Mayor and others, my Lord Chamberlain hath the charge to give warning unto them, and when they ſhall come upon the water, then they to be ordered by my Lord Steward.

Item, That for the more ſurety of the ſaid barks and barges, and to make the more ſpace and room for the paſſage of the ſame upon the Thames, it is ordained that Mr. Robert Rydon, Under Admiral, ſhall take ſuch proviſion, that all the ſhips that ſhall fortune to be then in the Thames, be laid as nigh unto the ſhore, as they may be on the one ſide of the Thames, whereof my Lord Chamberlain ſhall advertiſe the ſaid Mr. Rydon.

Item, That the Lords, Ladies, and all others, order them with their barges, about the bark of the ſaid Princeſs, in the manner following: that is to ſay, my Lord of Bucks, and all that come in his company, to keep them upon the right hand of the ſaid Princeſs: and the Lords that meet her firſt, upon the left ſide, and all the Ladies and ſhip boats, to come after her, and the Mayor and Crafts of London, to go before her: and that they have warning thereof by my Lord Steward: and at the coming of the ſaid Princeſs in the wharf of the Tower of London, ſhe ſhall be ſet on land on the weſt-ſide of St. Thomas's Tower, as it is 100 feet from the Tower-gate, and there ſhe ſhall be received with my Lord of Yorke, the King's ſecond ſon, accompanied with the Lords and

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Nobles following: that is to ſay, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhop of Durham, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Shrewſbury, the Lord Harrington, the Lord Strange, the Lord Haſtings, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Zouch, the Lord William of Devon, the Lord William of Suffolk, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, the Abbot of St. Albans: Sir Edward Stanley, Sir Edward Daniel, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir Thomas Green, Sir William Terwitt, Sir Thomas Brandon, Sir John Longueville, Sir Marmaduke Conſtable, Sir John Saville, Sir William Gaſcoigne, Sir John Huſſey, Sir Henry Heydon, Sir William Boleine, Sir Robert Broughton, Sir Hugh Conway, Sir John Rainford, Sir Henry Marney, Sir Richard Lewis, Sir Pierce Edgcumbe, Sir John Paſton, Sir Philip Calthrop, Sir Robert Brandon, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Sir John Ferris, Sir Thomas Rotheram, Sir John Audley of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Bryan, Sir Edward Rawley, Sir John Verney, Sir John Digby, Sir Robert Clere, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Edward Stanhope, Sir John Wingfield, Sir Robert Paynton, Sir Thomas Bawde: and all theſe, with their ſervants waiting upon them, ſome upon the one ſide, and ſome upon the other, after their honor and degree, ſhall be ranged in an order upon the wharf of the Tower, by Sir Thomas Lovell, calling unto him the King's Marſhal, and the Officers of the Marſhalſea, and to call all the ſaid Lords and Nobles together, and advertiſe them of that, to them is appointed, and to cauſe them to order them accordingly to the ſame. The Biſhop of Durham and Sir Thomas Lovell have taken the charge upon them.

It is to be remembered that no barge attending upon the ſaid Princeſs, take upon them to land in any place, neither upon the one ſide, nor upon the other of the Thames, but always to hover till the Princeſs be landed, and then depart to their lodgings at their pleaſure, except the Ladies, the Duke of Bucks, and the Earls, which ſhall land with her, and convey her to her lodging;

and that my Lord Steward give unto them warning and charge of the ſame. HENRY VII.

It is appointed that the gate of the wharf of the ſaid Tower towards St. Katherine's at the one end, be ſpied all the day, that the Princeſs ſhall arrive, and the other gate at the other end of the ſaid wharf toward London, be kept by Officers of the Marſhalſea, and the King's Bench, that no man enter by the ſame, but ſuch only as ſhall attend upon my Lord of Yorke, and ſuch honeſt perſons as ſhall be thought convenient by the diſcretion of the ſaid Sir Thomas Lovell; and that the ſame Officers of the Marſhalſea and King's Bench keep all the ſaid wharf, that no man land there by boats, and that the bridge over the Tower-ditch be ſurely made of a meet largeneſs, and ſufficiently railed on both ſides, and the ward-houſe before the gate taken away, or ſet apart: and afore the time the ſaid Princeſs ſhall lodge in the Tower, her company ſhall lodge in the City at the *Harbigage* of the Mayor and his Officers, as nigh the Tower as conveniently may be done, or with their acquaintance lodging within the Tower, and then depart to their lodgings at their pleaſure, if they ſhall ſo like; and the ſaid Sir Thomas Lovell hath taken upon him the whole charge and execution of this article.

Item, It is thought convenient that the ſaid Princeſs ſhall lodge in the Tower in the King's lodging, the ſame to be apparelled by my Lord Chamberlain, and there to reſt two days or more, as ſhall pleaſe the King's Grace, and as the caſe ſhall require.

Item, The Queen's lodging, and ſix more of the beſt chambers within the Tower, be apparrelled and dreſſed for the Ladies of the ſaid Princeſs; and that this be done by Sir Charles Somerſet, and Sir Thomas Lovell.

Item, At the coming of the ſaid Princeſs to the Tower of London, and for the time of her reſting there, it is thought that my Lord Steward ſhall provide for the diets of the ſaid Lady, under the form

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form following: that is to ſay, for a chamber for herſelf, a chamber for her Ladies, a chamber for her Lords and other Nobles, and that the gates being kept, that as few enter in the ſame, except only ſtrangers and honeſt perſons, as may be, but only the officers and purveyors for the houſehold, and ſuch as ſhall be commanded by the King, or appointed to do ſervice or attendance for the time, and during the feaſt, at Paul's and Weſtminſter, and alſo for the time that the King ſhall afterwards be at his manor of Richmond, or his caſtle of Windſor, or any other place, till the Spaniards have taken their leave: the Lords and Ladies with their menial ſervants to have free reſort at every meal to the King's houſe.

Item, When the Princeſs ſhall diſlodge out of the Tower, it is appointed, that then my Lord of Yorke, and all the other Lords and Nobles that have given their attendance ſince ſhe was firſt met, be ready at the ſaid Tower on horſeback, to convey her to the weſt door of the church of St. Paul's, and that no perſon but only the ſaid Lords, and ſuch gentlemen as ſhall await upon them, be on horſeback, and that no Lord or other have any more ſervants attending upon him on foot, but only as followeth: that is to ſay, my Lord of Yorke 12, the Archbiſhop of Yorke 4, the Duke of Bucks 4, every Biſhop and Earl 3, every Baron 2, and every Knight and Eſquire 1; and that they, and every of them have thereof advertiſement by my Lord Chamberlain, and that two of the King's ſervants appointed by my Lord Chamberlain, give their attendance upon the ſaid Lords and Nobles, to cauſe them to keep this ordinance: and my ſaid Lord of Abergavenny, having attending upon him for this time the officers of arms, hath taken upon him to put into due order the ſaid Lords and Nobles, as appertaineth to their degrees and eſtates, and in the ſame order to keep them from their departing out of the Tower, to their coming to the ſaid weſt door.

Item,

Item, That a rich litter be ready to receive and convey the ſaid Princeſs to the weſt door of the church of St. Paul's.

Item, That three horſemen in ſide-ſaddle and harneſs, all of one ſuit, be arrayed by the Maſter of the Queen's Horſe, to follow next to the ſaid Princeſs's litter.

Item, That a fair palfrey with a pillion, richly arrayed, and led in hand, for the ſaid Princeſs, do follow next unto the ſaid Horſemen.

Item, That 11 palfreys in one ſuit, be ordained for ſuch Ladies, attending upon the ſaid Princeſs, as ſhall follow next unto the ſaid pillion.

Item, That 5 charres diverſely apparrelled for the Ladies and Gentlewomen, be ready the ſame time at the ſaid Tower, whereof, one of the chief muſt be richly apparrelled and garniſhed for the ſaid Princeſs, and the other four to ſerve ſuch Ladies as ſhall be appointed by the Queen's Chamberlain, and that the ſame follow in ſuch order as the ſaid Chamberlain ſhall appoint.

Item, That betwixt every of the ſaid charres, there be 5 or 6 palfreys of ſuch Ladies, as ſhall come to the feaſt, for the attendance given upon the Queen's Grace.

Item, That the ſame Chamberlain have alſo the ordering of the ſaid palfreys, as well as of the charres, and if there fortune any more charres to come than above is aſſigned, then the ſame to be ordered by the ſaid Chamberlain.

Item, It is to be remembred, that ſome wiſe and expert perſon or perſons be aſſigned by the King and the Queen for the purveyance of the ſaid litter, palfreys, charres, and the apparels that ſhall be neceſſary for the ſame, and that this be done with all ſpeed, for the caſe it requireth.

Item, That the Mayor, Citizens and Crafts attend upon the ſaid Princeſs at the Croſs in Cheap, in ſuch manner, and in ſuch ſolemn pageants and ceremonies as they have deviſed for the honor of

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the City, and of the feaſt, whereof my Lord Abergavenny hath the charge.

Item, That the ſaid Princeſs be conveyed thro' the high ſtreets of London, in ſuch caſe accuſtomed, ſtrait to the weſt door of Paul's, where ſhe ſhall be received with proceſſion, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in pontificalibus, accompanied with a good number of ſuch Prelates, all likewiſe in pontificalibus, as he ſhall call to him: and from the ſaid door, with the choir of the church, proceſſionally to bring her to the high altar, and there to do ſuch ceremonies as in ſuch caſe is accuſtomed; and after her offering, to be conveyed to the little door againſt the conſiſtory that leadeth into the palace, and ſo forth brought to her chamber within the ſaid palace. And for her long travel and labor, it is thought that ſhe ſhould tarry in the ſaid palace one day, at the leaſt before the day of her marriage, and more as the caſe ſhall require, and as it ſhall pleaſe the King.

Item, That her Ladies and Gentlemen be lodged in the Dean's and Canon's lodgings, and other honeſt houſes adjoining to the ſaid palace, by Whiting and Trefry Gentlemen Uſhers, by the overſight and ordering of my Lord Chamberlain and Sir Charles Somerſet, and that a conſideration be had that they be lodged after their honours and degrees.

It is appointed that after the ſaid Princeſs hath reſted her in her chamber by the ſpace of an hour or thereabouts, that then the ſaid Princeſs in her litter accompanied with the Dutcheſs, of Norfolk in her litter, and certain other Ladies, ſome of the Queen's, and ſome of the ſaid Princeſs's at the Queen's nomination, and alſo certain Lords to be appointed by the King for the attendance given upon the Lords of Spain, ſhall be conveyed by Paul's chain, down Lambert's hill, to the King and the Queen being at Baynard's Caſtle: and that my Lord of Oxford receive her at her lighting which ſhall be within the court, and bring her into the

King's great chamber, and my Lord Chamberlain hath the charge of giving advertiſement to the Earl of Oxford. HENRY VII.

Item, That Lambert's hill ſhall be ſanded by the Mayor of London againſt the ſame time, whereof my Lord Abergavenny ſhall give him advertiſement, and that the Serjeant Porter be warned, that no manner of perſon enter the gate in charre, neither on horſeback, but only the ſaid Princeſs and ſuch other Nobles and Ladies as ſhall accompany her: my Lord Chamberlain hath the charge of the execution of this article: and Sir Charles Somerſet is to foreſee that the King's guard be there well apparrelled, ranged, and ordered, at the entry of the ſaid Princeſs.

Item, Afore the day of the marriage, it is thought that for the more ſolemnity of the feaſt, it ſhould be on the Sunday, or ſome Holiday, and that the ſaid Princeſs be going out of her chamber towards the church, ſomewhat before 9 of the clock, whereof my Lord Chamberlain ſhall advertiſe the Ducheſs of Norfolk.

Item, It is ordained that the Biſhops of Exeter, Hereford, Bath, Lincoln, Sarum, Cheſter, Rocheſter, and Norwich, and the Abbots of Weſtminſter, Bury, St. Albans, Glaſtonbury, Abingdon, and Reading, all in pontificalibus, give their attendance the day of marriage upon the ſaid Archbiſhop of Canterbury, executor of the ſaid marriage.

And afore the Princeſs's coming to the City, it is thought that he ſhould be there four days before the coming of the ſaid Princeſs to the Tower, and that he ſhould lodge in the Biſhop of Sarum's Place, till the night next before the marriage day; and that night, for his more readineſs for the buſineſs of the next day, to lodge in the wardrobe, and the next day to make his entry into the church ſomewhat before the Princeſs's coming thither, which entry is deviſed to be at the ſouth door next weſtward to our Lady of Grace in the body of the church; and the Princeſs's houſehold ſervants to give their attendance and

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convey him to the hault place to be made before the conſiſtory, in the ſaid body of the church, ſomewhat before her coming thither. Sir Richard Poole hath taken upon him the charge of this article.

Item, The ſaid Princeſs, accompanied with the greateſt eſtates of the Lords and Ladies, go out of the palace at the great gate, and enter by the Weſt door of the ſaid church, and ſo go to the ſaid hault place led by my Lord of York; whereof my Lord Chamberlain ſhall give advertiſement, as well to the Lords as to Sir John Riſley, for that that toucheth my Lord of York, and the Queen's Chamberlain ſhall advertiſe the Ladies.

Item, For the more eaſy coming of the ſaid Princeſs, it is deviſed that barrs ſhall be made from the ſaid palace gate, unto the ſaid weſt door of the church, and ſo from thence to the foot of the gallery, whereof Sir Charles Somerſet and Mr. Comptroller hath the charge.

And as for the hault place, it is deviſed to be ſet in the nave and body of the church, even annenſt the conſiſtory, to the intent that the King and the Queen may ſecretly go out of the Biſhop's palace into the ſame conſiſtory, whereof Mr. Comptroller and Sir Charles Somerſet have the charge.

Item, The faſhion of this hault place is deviſed to be made like unto the hault place at the chriſtening of the King's child, with broad and large greeces and ſteps, and with a good large ſpace all on high one loft, to the intent that the executor of the office of the marriage, and the miniſter of the church neceſſary for to do that act, and the Prince and the Princeſs may be together, and no more above, in the ſaid ſpace all on high, than be neceſſary: and the Biſhops, Abbots, and other Prelates and Officers, may ſtand lower upon the ſaid ſteps of the hault place, ſo as thereby grow no impediment to the ſight of the people, and that from the ſaid hault place to the choir door, there be made a ſtage of five feet high, with a rail upon either ſide: and Sir Charles Somerſet

Somerſet and the Comptroller of the King's houſe have taken upon them, that the ſaid work ſhall be made ſure and ſubſtantial. HENRY VII.

Item, That the trumpets ſtand aloft over the ſame weſt door, and blow continually after the firſt coming of the ſaid Princeſs out of the great gate of the ſaid palace, till the time ſhe be in the church upon the hault place, and then forthwith when ſhe ſhall be there, the trumpets to ceaſe: and the ordering and guiding of the ſaid trumpets and minſtrels for the time of the feaſt, is committed to Thomas Lovell, Yeoman Uſher of the King's chamber.

And when the ſaid Prince and Princeſs ſhall be on the ſaid hault-place on loft, and the banes aſked them, that Mr. Secretary object openly in Latin againſt the ſaid marriage, that it cannot be lawful, for ſuch reaſons as he ſhall exhibit there, ſuppoſed to be grounded on the laws of Chriſt's Church; whereunto Mr. Dr. Barnes ſhall reply, and declare ſolemnly, likewiſe in Latin, the ſaid marriage to be good and effectual in the law of Chriſt's Church, by virtue of a diſpenſation which he ſhall have there, to be openly read, and thereupon forthwith to deliver it to the Executor Officii, and the ſame Executor to command his Chancellor to read it; the ſame objections made, or any other to be made againſt the ſame, notwithſtanding: and for advertiſement of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in all ſuch things as ſhall be executed by him at that ſolemnity, the King's Secretary hath taken upon him the charge.

And in caſe it be requiſite after the manner of Spain, as it is after the cuſtom of England, that ſome man ſhall give the eſpouſe, then the greateſt Perſonage that ſhall come with the ſaid Princeſs, ſhall give her. The charge of this article reſteth in my Lord Chamberlain.

Item, When all ſhall be finiſhed that is to be done on the ſaid hault-place for the matrimony, then ſhall the Prince and Princeſs go together upon the ſaid gallery hand in hand, all along the body

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of the ſaid church, ſtrait after hede upon the ſame gallery ſtrewed with ruſhes, herbs, and flowers up to the choir, and through the choir to the high altar to their places appointed there: and that the ordering, ruſhing, and apparrelling of the ſaid gallery, be provided for by Sir Charles Somerſet and Mr. Comptroller.

Item, As ſoon as the Prince and Princeſs ſhall begin to depart from the ſaid hault-place, then ſhall all the minſtrels, every man after his faculty, one after another, being all on high in the vaults of the church, do their parts in muſic continually, as ſhall come in their courſe, till the Prince and Princeſs ſhall be before the high altar, and then all the minſtrels to ceaſe. And the ordering of all the ſaid minſtrels is committed to Lovell, Uſher of the King's Chamber.

And to the intent that the ſaid Prince and Princeſs may have always ſome place ſecretly to reſort unto, for ſuch caſualties that may fall during the high maſs of the marriage: It is to be foreſeen that the Prince ſhall have a traverſe made and ſet on the north ſide the choir near the high altar in place convenient, with a running curtain to ſerve when need ſhall be: ſo as the minſtrels about the high altar, and thoſe in the vaults, ſhall not now ſee what ſhall be done in the ſaid traverſe: and ſemblably, another traverſe to be made likewiſe, and to be ſet on the South ſide of the choir, alſo in place convenient for the ſaid Princeſs to reſort into, if any occaſion ſo demand. My Lord Chamberlain hath taken upon him the proviſion and making of theſe traverſes.

Item, As for the carr-cloth, it ſhall be of white baukin, and provided by my Lord Chamberlain, and by him delivered to the Prince's Chamberlain; and the ſpices and wines to be provided by my Lord Steward, and delivered to the Prince's Chamberlain and his officers, they to have the ordering of the ſame; and that the carre-cloth be holden by two Lords to be aſſigned by my Lord Chamberlain.

Item,

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Item, After the ſolemnity of matrimony ſhall be fully done, the Prince ſhall firſt, and before the Princeſs, depart with his company, down all along the North ſide of the church, and make his entry at the door of the palace of the Biſhop, that is next unto the ſaid conſiſtory, far within the ſaid palace, at her chamber door to receive the ſaid Princeſs.

Item, The ſaid Princeſs, ſoon after the departing of the ſaid Prince, led by my Lord of York ſhall return the ſame way ſhe went, that is to ſay, through the choir down upon the ſaid gallery, all along the body of the church, out of the great Weſt door of the ſame, and in at the great gate of the Biſhop's palace, and ſo to her chamber, where, at the door thereof, the Prince ſhall receive her, as the cuſtom of England is.

Item, That firſt, the minſtrels, and after, the trumpets, every man after his courſe and faculty, do their parts when the Princeſs ſhall return towards the palace of the Biſhop, as they did at her going from the ſame.

Item, It is thought good, that, ſomewhat beſide the great Weſt door of the church, in the South ſide thereof, there ſhall be a ſolemn conduit, well and pompuouſly deviſed for to run divers ſorts of good wines, and the ſaid conduit to begin to run as ſoon as the Princeſs ſhall be entered into the ſaid palace, and ſo to run continually all that day, and part of the pipes to run till midnight following: whereof Sir Charles Somerſet and Mr. Comptroller hath the charge.

Item, It is thought convenient, that ſuch head officers as ſhall have charge of the feaſt, the day of the ſaid marriage, do provide amongſt other things, that the hall of the Biſhop of London's palace as well in the of the boards, tables, and forms thereof, and in hanging of the houſe, as in making of cupboards, as well in the chamber where the ſaid Princeſs ſhall dine, as alſo in the hall, and otherwiſe, thought neceſſary, be well and honourably garniſhed and dreſſed, ſo as it ſhall be beſt deviſed for the honour

of

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of the ſaid feaſt: the charge of the execution of this article is committed to Worley, to be done by the advice of Sir Charles Somerſet and Mr. Comptroller.

Item, After the feaſt, that matter is remitted unto the Steward, Comptroller and the head officers of the King's moſt honourable Houſhold, and the Cofferer to ſee for the payment thereof.

Item, The third day after the day of marriage, the ſaid Prince and Princeſs to depart from the ſaid palace, towards Baynard's caſtle, to go to Weſtminſter with the King's Grace; and that the ſaid Princeſs ſo departing, ſhall ride in her litter, or on her ſpare horſe, with the pillion, behind a Lord to be named by the King, and eleven Ladies upon palfreys after her; and that certain convenient number of the ſaid Lords and Nobles be named, and warned by my Lord Chamberlain, then alſo to await on her on horſeback, with the ſame number of their ſervants with them on foot, that they had betwixt the Tower and the church of St. Paul's, keeping company with the Lords of Spain, as they did before accompany the ſaid Princeſs to Baynard's caſtle, where the King and the Queen ſhall be: and ſo forth to go with the King by water to Weſtminſter: and for this to be well done, two things are behoveful, the one is, that the ſtreets from Paul's chain down Lambert's hill, between the Earl of Derby's Place on the one ſide, and the Under Treaſurer's lodging, to the ſaid Baynard's caſtle, be well gravelled, and ſubſtantially caſt with ſand, by the Mayor of London, for the horſes more ſurety to keep themſelves upright in the great deſcent of the hill aforeſaid: the other is, that the ſaid Princeſs diſlodge the ſaid third day, from the Biſhop's palace at ſuch good hour, as ſhe may come to the King and Queen, to depart, if the King ſo be pleaſed, the ſame day at time convenient from the ſaid Baynard's caſtle, to the King's palace of Weſtminſter: the care of the ordering of ſuch things compriſed in this article, my Lord Chamberlain hath taken the charge.

Item,

Item, That the great bridge at Weſtminſter be amended by the Treaſurer of England, and the King's arms be renewed and new painted, whereof he ſhall have warning by Mr. Comptroller.

Item, The floor of Weſtminſter-hall be alſo new repaired, and the windows of the ſame glazed; whereof Mr. Comptroller and Worley have the charge.

Item, That the Woolbridge at the ſame Weſtminſter be alſo new repaired at the King's coſt, the charge whereof is committed to Mr. Comptroller and Worley.

Item, That all the gates and doors be ſhut, ſo that there be none enter except only through the great hall of Weſtminſter and the White hall.

Item, For the more royalty of the going of the King and the Queen, of the Prince and of the ſaid Princeſs, unto Weſtminſter by water, it is accorded that the King and Queen and Prince have their barges apart, well and pompouſly rigged and dreſſed; for the King's barges, the Lord Chamberlain hath the charge; and for the Queen's, and Prince's, the Chamberlain of both the Queen and Prince have charge.

Item, That, likewiſe, all the Lords ſpiritual and temporal that have given their attendance at the feaſt, accompany the King in their barges and great boats to the ſaid Weſtminſter; and as for the ſaid Princeſs, it is thought that ſhe ſhould be with the Queen's Grace in her barge. The Lord Chamberlain hath the charge to advertiſe the Lords of the premiſes, and the Queen's Chamberlain to provide for the Princeſs's conveyance with the Queen.

Item, Beſides this proviſion, that the King's great and little boats be purpoſely prepared and kept for ſuch ſtrangers as ſhall come with the ſaid Princeſs, whereof my Lord Chamberlain hath taken charge.

Item, When all theſe barges and boats of the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, ſhall be thus appointed and ready upon the Thames, to ſet forward towards Weſtminſter, then the ſaid Lords ſpiritual and

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temporal ſhall attend, every man in his barge, or boat, in the river, upon the King's barge, and when the King in his barge ſhall ſet forth from the ſaid Baynard's caſtle, then all the other barges and boats, to row by the King, after the King, and about the King, as the ſpace of the river with the ebbe or flow, and good order, ſhall lead them, till the time his Grace ſhall be landed at the great bridge of Weſtminſter; and that the Queen's Grace and all the Ladies and certain Lords, to be appointed by the King's Grace to attend upon her, follow the company of the King: and when ſhe ſhall come to the great bridge at Weſtminſter, that then ſhe, her Ladies and Lords attending upon her, pauſe and reſt in their barges till ſuch time that the King with his company be landed and entered into the palace. The charge of the ordering and appointing of the Lords to give attendance upon the King's Grace and the Queen, in their barges, is committed to the Lord Chamberlain; and for the ordering of the Queen, with the appointing of the Ladies to give attendance upon her Grace, the charge is committed to the Queen's Chamberlain.

And for juſts, tourneys, and other ceremonies, they be remitted to the ſaid Mr. Comptroller, ſerjeant of the King's armoury: and as for proviſion of the ſcaffolds, and all other things belonging to the ſaid juſts, Mr. Comptroller and Worley have taken upon them the charge.

Item, It is ordained, that the morrow after the King's coming to Weſtminſter at afternoon, in the evening, the King ſhall make the Knights of the Bath, and the day next enſuing ſhall begin the tourneys and juſts to endure at the King's pleaſure.

Item, It is thought fitting and honourable, that every Lord ſpiritual and temporal that ſhall give their attendance at the time, keep his houſe during the ſaid feaſt, and till the King depart from Weſtminſter.

Item, That my Lord Chamberlain ſend certain of the Uſhers of the King's chamber, to take up Heron's houſe within the ſanctuary, and

and to ſearch all the lodgings that be within the Abbey and the Chanon Row, and cauſe the owners of them to dreſs and furniſh them with ſtuff, and to make their report of every of the ſame by writing. HENRY VII.

Item, My Lord Steward and Mr. Comptroller, to cauſe ſix of the beſt furniſhed lodgings of the Sanctuary, and the town of Weſtminſter, to be reſerved and kept for ſtrangers.

Item, That Mr. Robert Southwell, and Sir William Pampage, ſhall have either of them a whole copy of this book, to the intent they may often overſee and perfectly peruſe the ſame, and not only to advertiſe every man that hath any charge committed to him to be ready, and to do their offices, but alſo to call upon them for the execution of the ſame.

Item, That Jaques Hault, and William Pawne, be appointed to deviſe and prepare diſguiſings and ſome moriſques, after the beſt manner they can, whereof they ſhall have warning by my Lord Chamberlain.

Item, Whereas my Lord Steward is now ſick, if it fortune that he continue in his ſickneſs ſo long, that he ſhall not now attend to ſuch charges as be committed to him by divers articles of this book, Mr. Comptroller hath taken upon him to do, perform, and execute all the ſaid charges by the ſaid articles appointed to my ſaid Lord Steward, and in manner and form as my Lord ſhould have done, if he had not been letted by his ſaid ſickneſs, foreſeeing always there be ſome noble Perſonage appointed to occupy the place and room of the ſaid Lord Steward, touching the receiving and conducting the Princeſs, which Perſonage is thought ſhould be my Lord of Surrey.

Item, The Biſhop of Durham hath taken upon him to make an abſtract out of this preſent book, of every man's charge, as it is compriſed in the ſame, and the ſame abſtract divided into ſeveral

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articles as the matter toucheth every man apart, to deliver in writing to Mr. Secretary, which ſhall incloſe the ſaid articles ſeverally in as many letters as there ſhall be articles, and the ſame direct and cauſe to be ſent to ſuch perſons, as be named in the heads of the ſaid articles, deſiring them by the ſame letters, to do and perform for their parts as is expreſſed in the ſame articles.

No. II.

Original Letter of Thomas Leigh *(one of the Viſiters of the Monaſteries) to* Thomas Crumwell, *Lord Privy Seal. Dated from the Monaſtery of* Vale Royal, *the 22d of Auguſt*, 1536. HENRY VIII. Harleian Library, 604.

[This is a curious but authentic picture of Country Manners about the time of the Reformation: It is no wonder that Viſiters, making ſuch reports, were unpopular.]

IN my moſt humble manner I commend me unto your good Lordſhip, evermore thanking you of your munificency, and great goodneſs, at all times ſhewed unto me. Advertiſing your Lordſhip, that whereas I have hitherto, according to your commandment, viſited the archdeaconries of Coventry, Stafford, Derby, and part of Cheſhire; for that I can perceive accordingly, as I heretofore have written unto you, there laketh nothing but good and godly inſtruction of the rude and poor people, and reformation of the heads, in theſe parts. For certain of the knights and gentlemen, and moſt commonly all, liveth ſo incontinently, having their concubines openly in their houſes, with five or ſix of their children, and putting from them their wives, that all the country therewith be not a little offended, and taketh evil example of them. Wherefore hitherto I have given and ſent commandment to them (foraſmuch as I could not ſpeak with them all, by reaſon they were at the aſſizes), to put from them immediately ſuch concubines, as they have hitherto notoriouſly and manifeſtly occupied and kept, and to take again

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again their wives; or elſe to appear before your Lordſhip, to ſhew a cauſe why they ſhould not be compelled; and if your Lordſhip will command any other thing to be done in the premiſes, I ſhall be ready to accompliſh the ſame. And ſeeing my Lord of Norfolk is come to the court, I ſhall moſt humbly deſire you to have me in remembrance. And thus God preſerve you, and have you in his moſt firm tuition, with much increaſe of honour, according to the contentation of your Lordſhip's moſt noble good heart's deſire.

From the monaſtery of Vale Royal, the 22d of Auguſt.

Your Lordſhip's humble at commandment,

THOMAS LEIGH.

No. III.

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Exeter, and Sir Anthony Brown, Knight. Inſtructions for the levying Men to go againſt the Rebels in the North, 1536.

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Harleian Collection, No. 6989.

[This formidable Rebellion is not very fully related by our Hiſtorians, and ſtill leſs the Intrigues which produced it; had more of the Nobility and Men of Property joined in it, the Throne of Henry VIII. and his Church Eſtabliſhments would have been ſhaken, if not overturned.]

October 19th, 1536.

AFTER our right hearty commendations, Theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that this morning arrived here a poſt with the letters herein incloſed, directed to you my Lord Norfolk, and others to the K. Highneſs, the copy alſo whereof you ſhall receive herewith, which was commanded, as by the ſaid letters you ſhall perceive, to have firſt paſſed by you, and ſo after to have come hither. For anſwer to the contents of which letters, the King's Majeſty hath commanded us to ſignify unto you, that firſt his pleaſure is, you ſhall, with all poſſible diligence, ſend unto my Lord Suffolk all ſuch munitions as in his letters to you my Lord of Norfolk be contained. Second, that you Sir Anthony Brown, ſhall with your

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number of 560 men, in his Grace's laſt letters mentioned, and with 440 men on horſeback more, to make up a full thouſand, if they may poſſibly be there gathered, advance ſpeedily to my Lord of Suffolk, taking alſo with you the ten pieces of ordnance that were before appointed unto you, with powder, ſhot, and all things convenient for the ſame. And if the ſaid 440 men, to make up the full thouſand men on horſeback, or within an hundred at the uttermoſt of the ſame, cannot be there levied, then his honour's pleaſure is, that you ſhall take the 560 men on horſeback before prepared, and with them alſo 1000 footmen, or very near that number, to be in like manner conveyed with you, or after you, to my ſaid Lord of Suffolk with all poſſible diligence. And his Grace's inſtant deſire is, that you my Lord of Norfolk and Exeter, ſhall, with the band of 5000 men in all, limited unto you, make your addreſs with the like ſpeed to my * Lord Steward. And that you ſhall take certain order, that the poſts may be laid ſurely for the ſpeedy conveyance of letters, both between Lincoln and Windſor, and between the places where you ſhall fortune to be, and the ſame. Finally you ſhall underſtand, the King's Highneſs hath at the writing hereof preſently diſpatched to Mr. Cofferer by Dr. Leighe †, and Dr. Leighton †, for your good furniture, now at your ſetting forth, and in your journey towards my Lord Steward, the ſum of two thouſand pounds, having alſo appointed, that a ſpecial and certain Treaſurer ſhall, for the ſaid journey only, with the ſame wait upon you. And therefore his Grace deſireth you to fear no want of money; for this day there

* The Earl of Shrewſbury, who was the King's Lieutenant againſt the rebels in Yorkſhire.

† Theſe by the Lord Cromwell's means had lately been ſent abroad by commiſſion from the King, to viſit the abbeys, and to take account of the enormities there committed. And there is a letter wrote by one of them, viz. Leighton, to Cromwell, concerning the nuns and friars of Sion, extant in Fuller's Church Hiſtory. In the diſſolution of the abbies, theſe men had the fingering of the revenues thereof for the King's uſe, which made them ſo odious, that theſe rebels among their demands at Doncaſter made this, that Leigh and Leighton ſhould be impriſoned for bribery and extortion.

is alſo diſpatched to Mr. Goſtyck above ten thouſand marks, and more ſhall come after. And beſides, if any bruit or noiſe ſhall be of any want of money, it might greatly diſcourage men, and ſo hinder much the King's affairs at this time, which by all means would be ſet forth and advanced. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. HENRY VIII.

From Windſor the 19th of October.

Your loving friends,

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.
THOMAS CRUMWELL.
ROBERT SUSSEX.
EDWARD HEREFORDE.

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Exeter, being in their march towards Doncaſter againſt the Rebels. Anno 1536. 1536. October 20.

AFTER our right hearty commendations. Foraſmuch as by letters ſent from my Lord Steward, and my Lord of Suffolk, with others to the King's Highneſs, it appeareth, the number of rebels groweth and increaſeth daily; his Grace's pleaſure is, that for the better furniture of your forces, as well you, my Lord of Norfolk, ſhall take with you the reſt of your band, over and above the number appointed, which you wrote was 1500 men or thereabouts: as that you, my Lord Marquis, ſhall ſemblably take all the reſt of your band, over and above the number agreed upon with you, if you ſhall together think it ſo expedient; haſting yourſelves to my Lord Steward with all poſſible diligence. Advertiſing you furthermore, that for the more perfect keeping of Lincolnſhire in

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quiet, his Grace hath commanded my Lord Chamberlain (Lord Sands) Mr. Poulet, and Mr. Kingſton, with the reſidue of the Glouceſterſhire men, not being of the thouſand going with you, and others to furniſh on horſeback, and on foot, if they can there at Ampthill levy ſo many good men, and the number of 2000 perſons, and the ſame with ſpeed to ſend to my Lord of Suffolk; ſignifying further unto you, that becauſe this matter ſeemeth to be ſo hot and dangerous, his Grace deſireth you, my Lord of Norfolk, to advertiſe him by this bearer, whether you ſhall think it expedient, that his Grace ſhould levy an army to attend upon his perſon, and ſo advance towards the ſaid rebels; and what you think elſe expedient to be conſidered touching the ſame. And to this ſaid bearer to give firm credence, for his Highneſs hath declared his full mind and pleaſure in that behalf. And thus moſt heartily fare you well; the 20th day of October, 1536.

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.
JOHN OXYNFORD.
EDWARD HEREFORDE.
THOMAS CRUMWELL.
ROBERT SUSSEX.
RICHARD CICESTER.

Endorſed thus, *In ſecundo exitu verſus* Doncaſtr*.

* For the rebels had already taken Hull and Pomfret, and were advanced ſouthward before Doncaſter, 30,000 ſtrong, lying there divided into three bodies. And hither the Duke was now haſtening to meet and fight them.

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1536. Decem. 2.

The Privy Council to the Duke. Inſtructions about dealing with the Rebels, and offering them Pardon. Anno 1536.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your Grace. The ſame ſhall herewith receive the double of a letter ſent to the King's Highneſs from my Lord of Suffolk, upon the arrival with him of a ſervant of Sir William Muſgrave's; by the contents thereof, with the credence of the ſaid Muſgrave's ſervant, it appeareth, that Tyndeſdale, and Riddeſdale be of a good ſort, and have rather done diſpleaſure to the rebels, than ſhowed themſelves any thing toward to condeſcend to their traiterous faction. And that the parties of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland be not of ſo evil diſpoſition as hath been ſuppoſed. And further, the ſaid Muſgrave's ſervant hath declared to the King's Highneſs, that the Lord Clifford, the ſaid Sir William Muſgrave, Aygleby and others do keep peaceably the town and caſtle of * Carliſle, with the parts about the ſame: and that Sir William Muſgrave has been with the Earl of Cumberland at Skipton †, and found him ſo victualled and furniſhed in every condition, that he eſteemeth not much the malice of his enemies. Which things weighed and conſidered, his Majeſty thinketh, if you ſhall for the firſt brunt fortify the paſſages of Doonne with ditches, according to his device, the Yorkſhire men, and thoſe that ſhall take their parts, will be, within ſhort ſpace, eaſy enough to deal withal.

* But ſoon after it was beſieged by one Nich. Muſgrave and 8000 men. But they were repulſed by the city. And in their return encountered by the Duke, who cauſed all the Captains (except Muſgrave who eſcaped), and ſeventy perſons beſides, by martial law to be hanged on Carliſle walls.

† Skipton was a caſtle belonging to the Earl, which the rebels, in October, had attempted, and he reſolutely defended againſt them; though 500 gentlemen retained at his coſt, had deſerted him.

HENRY VIII. For being the parties before rehearſed brought to ſome ſtay, wherein his Grace will travail, my Lord of Suffolk, with the Lincolnſhire men of the one ſide, you, my Lord Steward, my Lord of Rutland, my Lord of Huntingdon, and others there, with the forces of thoſe parts, on the other ſide, and my * Lord of Derby on the third part, with ſuch preparation as his Grace can ſhortly make, ſhall be able enough to conſtrain the rebels to ſuch conformity and obedience, as appertaineth.

Wherefore his Majeſty deſireth you, conſidering it ſhould not be honourable for him to grant the free pardon, but a mean to encourage the offenders, and others alſo, to the enterpriſing of like attempts, to uſe all the dexterity to you poſſible, to induce them to receive the firſt † pardon, and to ſtay with them long, before you ſhall proceed to the other degree, which his Highneſs would by no means come unto, if ſudden extremity ſhall not enforce the ſame. And, good my Lord, uſe in this matter all your wiſdom, to ſatisfy his Grace's princely courage and deſire. For it is much to his Grace's regret to receive from you ſo many deſperate letters, and in the ſame to hear no mention of the remedies. Inſomuch as his Grace making a diſcourſe of the whole progreſs of the matter, upon the letters written lately, that he ſhould be deceived if he truſted to the paſſages, ſaid, thoſe words agreed but ſhrewdly with the letters written unto him from Cambridge, wherein you deſired ſo much that my Lord Steward ſhould not have paſſed Trent, before your coming to him, as though you had known the country and rivers ſo well, that you had been then able at your will, in manner to have put the rebels to diſcomfiture. Which matter not ſucceeding according to

* This Earl had raiſed forces out of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire, to ſtop another army of rebels, that were coming ſouthward through Lancaſhire, to join thoſe that were up in Yorkſhire.

† Wherein ten were excepted, ſix named, and four unnamed, but the four unnamed concerning every body, it was declined. The free pardon was without any exception at all, on condition they would lay down their arms, and make their ſubmiſſion to the King's Lieutenants.

your

your deſire, you did after much lament. And yet his Highneſs ſaid, that unleſs my Lord Steward had indeed marched forward contrary to your mind, there had been more loſt, than perceſe would have been recovered again in a good time, beſides the diſhonour that ſhould have enſued of the ſame. Surely his Highneſs is your good and gracious Lord; and therefore we all beſeech you eftſoons now to ſhow all your wiſdom to conduce theſe things to that end, that may be to his Grace's ſatisfaction: for we aſſure you, his Highneſs thinketh his honour ſhall be much touched, if he ſhall grant them the free pardon.

Your Grace ſhall herewith receive letters from the King's Highneſs privately written to yourſelf; but we aſſure your Grace, whatſoever is contained in the ſame, his Majeſty is as good and gracious Lord unto you, as ever he was in his life; and we all be your aſſured friends, deſiring as much that ſucceſs in this matter, that may be to your honour, as yourſelf can deſire the ſame, which we ſhall alſo advance to our poſſible powers; knowing right well, that whatſoever is written touching the ſtay for the free pardon, you will no further ſtrain them to take the firſt pardon, than your wiſdom ſhall think meet for the quieting of the matter, which is moſt to be regarded. And thus we beſeech our Lord, ſend your Grace no worſe to fare than we would ourſelves. From Richmond the ſecond of December. Your aſſured loving friends,

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.
JOHN OXYNFORD.
ROBERT SUSSEX.
THOMAS CRUMWELL.
RICHARD CICESTER.
WILLIAM POULET.

Endorſed at Hatfield. From the King's Council, 4th December.

HENRY VIII.

1536. Decem. 6.

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your Grace. Theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, that yeſternight about ſix of the clock we received your letters written from Welbeck on Saturday, upon certain others from us, before to you addreſſed, touching our hope that the King's Majeſty would condeſcend to your deſires * made by Sir John Ruſſel, rather than the matter ſhould grow to a further extremity. The contents of which letters, when we had peruſed, we ſignified to his Highneſs, being the ſame, both to his Grace, and all us, very pleaſant and comfortable; as well for that we perceive thereby the good inclination and loyal diſpoſition of the Gentlemen, with your certain intelligence † with the ſame, as for that the ſaid Gentlemen being ſo well diſpoſed, it is not to be doubted, but though the cankered Commons would attempt any further enterprizes, the ſaid Gentlemen and their ſervants and friends, with your advice and counſel, and the aid of ſuch force as you have, and may eaſily prepare there, ſhall be able to ſtay their fury and traiterous madneſs. And his Majeſty giveth unto your Grace and your colleagues ‡ there, his moſt hearty thanks, that by your wiſ-

* Viz. That the King would yield to a general pardon, and a Parliament to be held in thoſe parts, which were ſome of the things the rebels required: and which being granted, he thought it might be a means to quiet all. This the Duke deſired, that he might be in a better readineſs for the treaty, which was to be by the King's allowance on the 6th of December between the Duke and the Earl of Shrewſbury on the King's part, and 300 of the rebels at Doncaſter. Which requeſt the King granted, leaving the whole to the Duke's diſcretion.

† For the rebels had compelled all the nobility and gentry they could get into their hands, to go with them, making them ſwear to an oath they adminiſtered to them; and ſome did willingly join with them. With ſome of theſe the Duke held a ſecret correſpondence, of which he made good uſe. Among theſe were the Lord Scroop, the Lord Lumley, Lord Latimer, &c.

‡ Earl Shrewſbury, Marquis of Exeter, Earls of Huntingdon and Rutland, &c.

doms

doms you have conduced this great matter to ſo good a towardneſs of the clear finiſhing of the ſame. And whereas your Grace's opinion is, that growing to an end with the rebels at this meeting, it ſhould be meet you ſhould forthwith enter into the country, and ſo ſwear the ſame from place to place, as you ſhould travel, and that you ſhould in that caſe be furniſhed with ſome good company of nobles and gentlemen, as well for the better advancement and ſhowing of the King's honour, and for your ſurety in all events and chances; which noblemen and gentlemen would look for their coſts paid in that journey. His Grace doth right well allow and approve your device therein. Nevertheleſs his deſire is, that you ſhould firſt ſignify unto him, what noblemen and gentlemen, and what the groſs number of all the train, ſhould be, that you would have with you. And thereupon his Highneſs will ſend you your commiſſion, and take ſuch further order for the entertainment of you and your train, that you ſhall have cauſe to be contented. Truſting that you will, in the advertiſement hereof, conſider the great charges his Majeſty hath been at, and deviſe for the alleviation of the ſame, as much as you can poſſible. And upon that advertiſement, his Highneſs will alſo write to the Earl of Northumberland * for his coming hither, if nothing chance unto him in the mean ſeaſon; not doubting but your Grace will have ſuch reſpect unto his brethren, that they ſhall not be able to do any diſpleaſure, though they would maliciouſly practiſe any evil purpoſe.

Now there reſteth but only one thing to be conſidered, which the King's Majeſty hath much at heart, and we ſhall no leſs deſire, that is, the preſervation of his Grace's honour, which his Highneſs and we all think, ſhall be much touched, if there be no man reſerved to puniſhment, for the example of others hereafter. Wherefore albeit the King's Majeſty hath referred all to your diſcretion, yet if your

* Who had been Lord Warden of the Marches, but lately ſuſpected and diſcharged, and now about to be ſent up.

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Grace could, by any good means, or poſſible dexterity, reſerve a very few perſons to puniſhment, you ſhould aſſuredly adminiſter the greateſt pleaſure to his Highneſs that could be imagined, and much in the ſame advance your own honour. And amongſt a few vile perſons, becauſe he is notable and moſt wilful, if you could reſerve * Sir Robert Conſtable, we be not able to expreſs how much the ſame would tend to his Majeſty's ſatisfaction. Wherein we ſhall not need to deſire your Grace to travail, knowing that you will leave no means unattempted, that your wiſdom ſhall think may accompliſh his Highneſs moſt fervent deſires in that behalf, only grounded upon the preſervation of his honour, which, without the ſame, he thinketh, and ſo do we alſo, ſhall be much touched.

We ſend unto your Grace alſo, certain of the † letters addreſſed to the Biſhops, with divers copies of the ‡ articles agreed upon by the clergy: and for the more plain declaration to the people of the truth of the ſame, you ſhall receive one copy, whereunto the Biſhops and Clergy did at the beginning ſet their hands, which we require you to reſerve for his Highneſs. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From Richmond the 4th of December. Your aſſured friends,

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor. | WILLIAM POULET.
ROBERT SUSSEX. | JOHN OXYNFORD.
THOMAS CRUMWELL. | RICHARD CICESTER.
EDWARD HEREFORD. | WIILLIAM KYNGSTON.

Endorſed at || Hatfield from the King's Council, 6th Dec.

* He, upon the rebellion ſoon after breaking out again, with the Lord Darcy, Sir Thomas Percy, Aſk, and divers others, was ſent up to London by the Duke, and afterwards executed.

† Theſe letters were, I ſuppoſe, certain injunctions, in number eleven, ſent under the name of Crumwell, the King's Vicegerent, to be obſerved by Deans, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, &c. which may be ſeen in Lord Herbert's life of King Henry, p. 472.

‡ Theſe articles may be read in the ſame Author, p. 467, 468, which were ſigned by Crumwell and eighteen Biſhops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Archdeacons and Proctors of the Clergy at their convocation. Several copies of theſe articles were ſent to the Duke on purpoſe to be diſperſed in thoſe parts, for the better exerciſe of the ſtudies and thoughts of the clergy, who had been the chief inſtruments in theſe commotions.

|| The Duke was now at Hatfield in his return back to the North, whence he had come lately up to Court, upon this occaſion. He found the rebels number far to exceed the King's army, which was not above 5000. So to

gain

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The Privy Council to the Duke.

1536-7. February 4.

AFTER our right hearty commendation to your good Lordſhip. This morning arrived here your letters unto us on Candlemas-day, with the copies ſent with the ſame; containing as well your advice and proceeding touching the ſtay of the retainder of certain perſons, whoſe names you have ſent in one of the ſaid copies, as the ſtate of the country there, with certain other things therein contained, which we have ſhowed unto the King's Highneſs. And albeit his Majeſty ſeemed to approve the plain declaration of your mind in that behalf; yet in the reading of that part of the letter, he ſaid, he ſomewhat marvelled, that you ſhould be more earneſt in the diſſuaſion of the retainder of them that have been but murderers and thieves (if they have ſo been), than you were that his Grace ſhould not retain thoſe that have been rebels and traitors. Theſe men have rather done good than hurt, in this troublous time, tho' they did it not with a good mind and intent, but for their own lucre. What the other did, no man can better tell than you. If theſe men may be made good men, with this advancement, his Highneſs may think his money well employed. If they will nevertheleſs continue evil, all the world ſhall think them the more worthy puniſhment, for that they have ſo little regarded the great clemency and goodneſs of his Majeſty, calling them from their evil doings to honeſt preferment, to the intent they ſhould the

gain time till more forces came in, he put the rebels upon petitioning; which advice they took, and ſent up a petition by two gentlemen that they had compelled to yield to them. And the Duke promiſed to accompany them up to forward their petition; and that brought him into theſe parts. But he ſoon returned again to his charge, and was now gotten as far as Hatfield.

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rather leave and forſake the ſame. And his Grace may all times puniſh them according to their demerits, when he ſhall think meet, if they ſhall eftſoons offend. And yet his patents of their annuities be no pardons, nor they by the ſame changed into another ſtate than they were before. And therefore his Majeſty's pleaſure was, we ſhould not only ſignify unto you, that he would have his determinations accompliſhed in that behalf, but alſo, that with all poſſible ſpeed after the receit hereof, you ſhall write to Sir Anthony Browne to proceed therein without ſtay, according to his former commiſſion, any thing by you written to the contrary notwithſtanding; as by the copy of the letters ſent to the ſaid Sir Anthony, which you ſhall receive herewith, you ſhall perceive. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From Greenwich, the 4th of February.

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor.
ROBERT SUSSEX.
RICHARD CICESTER.
CHARLES SUFFOLK.
THOMAS CRUMWELL.
EDWARD HEREFORD.
WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS.
WILLIAM POULET.
J. RUSSEL.

The Privy Council to the Duke.

1536-7. February 4.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to advertiſe the ſame, that by this bearer you ſhall receive the King's Highneſs's letters, which his Grace doubteth not but you will put in execution with ſuch dexterity as the ſame may be a ſpectacle of the end of ſuch abominable treaſons; and a mean to reduce that country to a perfect quietneſs. You ſhall alſo underſtand that ſince your departure, the King's Majeſty hath received ſundry letters from my Lord of Wincheſter and Maſter Wallop, declaring as well a general communication had between the French King and them, of the matter of my Lady * Mary, which yet remaineth in the ſame terms you left it, as an heap of lies which have been ſpread abroad there, touching our ſtate, and the late buſineſs here. Whereunto, when anſwer was made, the Ambaſſador of France here reſident, made requeſt for acceſs to the King's preſence, and obtaining the ſame, on the French King's behalf, required his Grace's favourable licence for the young † Queen of Scots' paſſage through his realm into Scotland; preſenting therewith a letter from the Great ‡ Maſter, importing that the King of Scots would be content to do the ſame. The ſtrangeneſs of the demand whereof, being ſo

* A propoſal was made by Pomeray, the French King's ambaſſador, for a match between the French King's ſon, the Duke of Orleans, and the Lady Mary the King's daughter. But that Ambaſſador did little in the affair. Yet it ſeems Wincheſter and Wallop, the King's Ambaſſadors with the French King, had communicated with him concerning it.

† King Francis of France had lately beſtowed his daughter Magdalen upon the Scots King, which King Henry took very ill; becauſe he ſaw hereby that King deſigned a more ſtrict friendſhip with the Scots, which the Engliſh King was very jealous of, and therefore made a boggle of letting her paſs through his kingdom.

‡ Duke Montmorency.

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divided into parts, and commenced in the name of the French King and the Great Maſter, and nothing at all at the interceſſion, or in the name of the King of Scots, moved the King's Majeſty to ſtay in his anſwer. And we upon conſultation thereupon had, as yet think it in no wiſe to be granted, for many great reſpects, beſides the manner of requeſt *. Nevertheleſs, as we ſhall therein conclude, we ſhall from time to time, of that, and ſuch other occurrents as be here, advertiſe you. Requiring you by your next letters to ſignify your opinion and good advice unto us, touching this matter, with ſuch reaſons as, on either part, ſhall move you in the ſame. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From Greenwich, the 4th of February.

Your aſſured Friends,

CHARLES SUFFOLK.
HE. EXETER.
RICHARD CICESTER.
ROBERT SUSSEX.
WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS.
THOMAS CRUMWELL.
EDWARD HEREFORD.
WILLIAM POULET.

Endorſed, *Rec. Feb. 9. Ebor. a Regis Conſilio.*

* I believe this requeſt was denied. For I find the King of Scots and his new-married Queen came together by ſea to Edinburgh about Whitſuntide.

1536-7. February 25.

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your Lordſhip. Whereas the King's Majeſty, having eſtabliſhed an order upon his Grace's eaſt and middle marches, as by the device thereof, which we ſent unto you, the ſame hath perceived, doth intend to frame a like order for his weſt marches. Albeit, there hath been a ſemblable device made for ſuch officers and penſioners as ſhall be retained upon the ſame, the copy whereof we ſend unto you herewith; yet knowing as well your great experience in thoſe parts, as conſidering that it ſhall be meet your Lordſhip ſhould have the direction of it, we have ſuſpended the giving of our ſentences to the device, which, as is aforeſaid, you ſhall receive thereof, with theſe our letters, till we ſhall from you hear again, how you like the ſame. Requiring you therefore to weigh and conſider it with your accuſtomed wiſdom, and to ſignify your opinion therein unto us, with as much ſpeed as you may conveniently; to the intent the King's Highneſs may thereupon finiſh his purpoſe therein, as ſhall appertain, and be moſt for his Grace's honour and ſurety. And ſurely we be all as glad of your proſperous proceedings in the reducing of that country to good quiet and obedience, and that it hath pleaſed God to preſerve you in health to the ſame, notwithſtanding the fear you were in of ſickneſs, as any man may be, or as your own noble heart could deſire. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From Weſtminſter this 25th of February.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured Friends,

THOMAS CRUMWELL, &c.

*** We require your Lordſhip to keep this matter to yourſelf.

Endorſed, *Newcaſtle, ultimo Feb. a Regio Concilio.* With the device for the Weſt Marches made by the King's Highneſs.

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1536-7. March 3.

The Privy Council to the Duke.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your Lordſhip. Theſe ſhall be to advertiſe the ſame, that foraſmuch as the King's Majeſty hath lately addreſſed his letters to Sir Robert Conſtable for his repair unto his preſence, the bearer whereof found him removed to which is thirty miles from the place where he commonly lieth; and that, upon the delivery of the ſaid letters, he neither uſed any reverend behaviour, nor made any ſuch convenable anſwer for his acceſs, as might have any thing tended to his Grace's ſatisfaction: his Majeſty, conſidering that the ſaid Sir Robert Conſtable could, either for his commodity, or for his further intent and purpoſe, remove to a place ſo far diſtant from his habitation and common dwelling-place, ſtanding the ſame alſo upon the ſea-ſide: and on the other ſide, that he could, neither in reſpect of his duty towards his Highneſs, nor in reſpect of his late offences, make any ſeemly anſwer, or of that behaviour in the receit of the ſaid letters, and that appertained, and conceiving ſome marvel thereof; hath commanded us to ſignify unto you, that his pleaſure is, you ſhall not only have a ſpecial eye upon him, but alſo that you ſhall of yourſelf adviſe him in ſuch wiſe as you ſhall think moſt convenient, with acceleration to make his repair hither. Which, by all likelihood, he may eaſily do, in accompliſhment of his duty, which for his pleaſure could remove thirty miles. And if he ſhall not thereupon addreſs himſelf hitherwards with diligence, then his Grace's pleaſure is, you ſhall cauſe him to be ſent up with a ſerjeant at arms, and with further aſſurance, if you ſhall ſo think meet. And alſo his Highneſs would, that you ſhall ſecretly make Sir Ralph Merker the younger, and Sir Ralph Evers, privy to this matter, com-

commanding them to take ſuch order in the ports of Hull and Scarborough, and the creeks thereunto belonging, that in caſe he would ſteal into any outward parts, he may be apprehended, and ſo conveyed up unto his Grace in convenient ſurety, with all diligence. Finally you ſhall underſtand, that his Majeſty taketh all your proceedings there in good part, and doth in every condition as thankfully accept the ſame, as your own heart could deſire. Which we affirm unto you upon our honeſties, becauſe you ſhall not doubt in the ſame. And ſo moſt heartily fare you well. From Weſtminſter the 3d of March. HENRY VIII.

Your Lordſhip's loving Friends,

THOMAS CRUMWELL, &c.

Endorſed, *Newcaſtle, 6th March. A Regio Conſilio.*

The Privy Council to the Duke of Norfolk.

1536-7. March 12.

AFTER our hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip. We have received your letters of the 7th of this month. And foraſmuch as the King's Majeſty hath made anſwer to the greater part of the principal points contained in the ſame, we ſhall not trouble your Lordſhip with the repetition thereof; only we ſhall, at ſome length, ſignify our minds frankly unto you, touching the matter of the direction of the Borders: wherein you have written your opinion upon our letters, for that purpoſe before addreſſed to you.

You write, that you, and other the wiſe men of thoſe parts, think, that ſuch a multitude of wild folks as be upon thoſe borders, ſhall not be contained in ſuch order as were to be wiſhed, by ſo mean men as ſhould have the direction of the ſame. But that for that reſpect,

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reſpect, it ſhould be meet ſome man of great nobility ſhould have the rule thereof.

Firſt, my Lord, we have learned by experience, that when the Earl of Northumberland was for ſundry reſpects removed from the office of the Wardenry of the Eaſt and Middle Marches, being the ſame offered in manner to two Noblemen that were thought meet to receive it, they did both, as they might, refuſe it. So that for thoſe parts, the King's Majeſty was enforced, in a manner, to take ſuch to ſerve him therein, as he might, when thoſe to whom he minded it, were not willing to receive it. And thereupon a device was made, which you ſeemed much to approve, ſaving for a few perſons whoſe offences and converſation was ſuch, as you thought them not meet in any wiſe to be advanced. Second, We have by experience ſeen, that the King hath been much the worſe ſerved upon the Weſt Marches, by the reaſon of controverſy and variance depending between the great men, that lie upon the ſame. And if the King's Majeſty ſhould remove the Earl of Cumberland, and eftſoons prefer into the room of his Warden there, the Lord Dacres, we ſee not but the pique between them ſhould be rather augmented than taken away. Again, if it ſhall pleaſe his Majeſty to appoint the meaneſt man that for ſuch a purpoſe could be thought on, to rule and govern in that place, is not his Grace's authority ſufficient to cauſe all men to ſerve his Grace under him, without reſpect of the mere eſtate of the perſonage not having that authority?

We deſire to know the names, with the reaſons of thoſe wiſe men that think his Grace ſhall not be ſerved there with ſuch men, whatſoever they be, as he ſhall appoint to have authority under him. How his Highneſs hath been ſerved with thoſe ſuch as have had that room, what by want of good qualities meet to ſupply the places that ſome of them were in, and what by reaſon of their diſcords, we all know. And to be ſhort with your Lordſhip, we think, that his Majeſty, retaining all the Gentlemen and head-men, as he doth,

ſhall not be evil ſerved. At the leaſt we think it ſhall not be evil, that his Majeſty ſhall eſſay this way, and it were but only to ſee who would not as gladly ſerve him under another, as he would do, if he had the beſt place himſelf. For it importeth no neceſſity of continuance, but as his Majeſty ſhall think, with the proof thereof, expedient. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From Weſtminſter the 12th of March.

Your Lordſhip's loving Friends,

T. CANTUARIEN.

THOMAS AUDELEY, Chancellor, &c. &c.

The Privy Council to the Duke.

1536. March 17.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip. Theſe ſhall be to advertiſe the ſame, that debating the effect of your letters of the 12th of this month addreſſed to me the Lord Privy Seal, with the King's Highneſs; his Grace amongſt other things ſaid, he marvelled much, that you and the reſt of his council ſeemed ſo certainly to reſolve, that his Majeſty could not be ſerved upon his marches, but by Noblemen. When I would (quoth his Highneſs) have preferred to the Wardenry of the Eaſt and Middle Marches my Lord of Weſtmoreland, like as he did utterly refuſe it, ſo my Lord of Norfolk noted him a man of ſuch heat and haſtineſs of nature, that he could not think him meet for it. When he would (quoth his Grace) have conferred it to my Lord of Rutland, he refuſed it alſo; and my Lord of Norfolk noted him a man of too much puſillanimity, to have done us good ſervice in it, if he would have embraced an overture in it. And we think (quoth his Highneſs)

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neſs) he would not adviſe us to continue in it my Lord of Northumberland. Now if we ſhall prefer none of theſe three to that room, we would be glad (quoth his Grace) that my Lord of Norfolk ſhould name the Nobleman that he thinketh meet for that office. For gladly we would have ſuch a one in ſtore to appoint it unto, if we ſhould hereafter alter our device, which we be not yet determined to do, nor ſhall apply to that ſentence, till we have better experiment what ſhould enforce us unto.

Now touching the Weſt Marches, my Lord of Norfolk himſelf (quoth his Grace) thought it not meet that the Earl of Cumberland ſhould be avoided out of the Wardenry thereof, and the Lord Dacres eftſoons thereunto preferred. For it ſhould but engender mortal feud between their houſes. Again, we think, (quoth his Majeſty) that it were unſeemingly to remove him, that hath ſo well preſerved himſelf from our rebels in this troublous time, and hath ſo well kept our town and caſtle of Carliſle, and in his place to put him, that hath been taken as his enemy. If then having determined, for the withdrawing of heart-burning from them both, to remove them both from that office, which in either of their hands could have been no mean of amity between them, we would for thoſe Marches alſo have my Lord of Norfolk name unto us a third Nobleman, not meddling with any before named. Which communication we thought convenient to ſignify to your Lordſhip, that you may perpend it accordingly. Not doubting but that your wiſdom ſhall the better perceive, that, like as his Grace could not be furniſhed with any of theſe men conveniently before named, for the reſpects ſpecified, ſo his Highneſs thinketh there will no man refuſe, or be ſlack to ſerve immediately under him, that could be content to ſerve under a Nobleman and his deputies, being all but ſubjects. And this we write only unto you, to the intent your Lordſhip may perceive the whole diſcourſe of the ſaid conference and communication, and for no purpoſe of ourſelf, either utterly to impugn your opinion, though the

the contrary by experience may prove right well, or to pique you therein, which, in the utterance thereof, the King's Majeſty nothing minded. And ſo moſt heartily fare you well. From Weſtminſter the 17th of March. HENRY VIII.

Your loving Friends,

THOMAS CRUMWELL, &c.

Endorſed, *Holden, 20th March. A Conſilio Regis.*

The Privy Council to the Duke.

1537. April 7.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your Lordſhip. Foraſmuch as not only upon the matter of William Levenyngs, being with the Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Conſtable, and Robert Aſk, after his attemptate in the new rebellion, which you ſignified to me the Lord Crumwell, Privy Seal; but alſo upon the examination and knowledge of ſundry other great matters revealed againſt them, the ſame Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Conſtable, and Robert Aſk, be this day by the King's Highneſs's commandment, committed to the Tower of London, there to abide till they may be juſtified according to the law; his Highneſs's pleaſure was, we ſhould thereof advertiſe your Lordſhip, to the intent you may divulge the cauſe of their captivity to the people of thoſe parts, that they may the rather perceive their miſerable fortunes, that being once ſo graciouſly pardoned, would eftſoons combine themſelves for the attempting of new treaſons, to the great peril of his Grace's perſon, and the danger of his whole realm: which thing his Grace doth alſo deſire your Lordſhip to cauſe to be publiſhed by others, in all parts there, with ſuch dexterity, as his ſubjects, perceiving the truth thereof, conceive

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not, that any thing is done for their former offences, done before the pardon, which his Grace will in no wiſe remember or ſpeak of; but for thoſe treaſons which they have committed again ſince, in ſuch deteſtable ſort, as no good ſubject would not wiſh their puniſhment for the ſame.

And whereas your Lordſhip hath eſtoons written to the King's Majeſty for your repair hither, we do all require you to think, that in caſe his Highneſs will not grant it, the ſame is not delayed upon any decay of his favour unto you, or for want of good will in any of us to have had you ſatisfied therein; but upon the neceſſity of his Grace's laſt letters unto you ſpecified, and for ſundry other reſpects and cauſes, the particularities whereof you ſhall perceive by his Grace's next letters to be addreſſed unto you. Wherewithal we truſt you will repoſe yourſelf in that behalf.

And finally you ſhall underſtand, that I, the Lord Privy Seal, have ſued out your pardon for ſuch money as you have defrayed in the wars, and ſhall likewiſe ſue out your broad ſeal thereof, with diligence.

Moreover your Lordſhip ſhall underſtand, that whereas you wrote lately of one Rocheſter, a monk, who by his letters incloſed in a letter of yours, directed to me, declareth himſelf to be a rank traitor, the King's Highneſs's pleaſure is, you ſhall ſend for him to ſome ſuch place as you ſhall think meet, and in caſe he will abide by his opinion, to cauſe him to be juſtified there, and executed according to the laws.

And as concerning Sir Stephen Hamerton and Nicholas Tempeſt *, whom you write will be ready to come up, upon privy ſeals to be ſent for them; his Grace is content that you ſhall command them to come up at liberty, if you ſhall think they will ſo do, without ſuch fear as ſhould cauſe them to ſtart. But if you ſhall have any doubt in them, his Grace requireth you to ſend them up, according

* Who were both after found guilty of treaſon, and executed.

to

to the tenor of the former letters, written for that purpoſe. And albeit we doubt not, but your Lordſhip doth think, that we be not ſo light to ſend for any men in ſuch ſort, as was lately written for Gregory Conyers *, unleſs there were pregnant matter detected againſt them; yet the King's Highneſs, at the contemplation of your letters, is content that you ſhall ſuffer the ſaid Conyers to come up at his liberty, if you think he will ſo do, or elſe that you ſhall ſend him up, as was before preſcribed. And to conclude, his Grace doubteth not, but your Lordſhip will cauſe this matter of the apprehenſion of the Lord Darcy, Sir Robert Conſtable, and Aſk, to be ſet forth in ſuch a general ſort, upon their treaſons committed ſince the pardon, as there be no ſpecialty touched or ſpoken of, till they may be ſo conveyed in a maſs together, as all men may perceive the ſpecialties and effects of the ſame. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From Chriſt Church † in London, the 7th of April.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured, &c.

Endorſed, *Dureſme*, 10 *Aprilis*. *A Conſilio Regio.*

* Who I believe was cleared.

† A monaſtery within Aldgate, that upon the diſſolution, came to Audeley the Lord Chancellor, where he and the Privy Council now ſat, and from him to the Duke of Norfolk, who had married Audeley's daughter and heireſs, and ſo was afterwards called Duke's Place.

HENRY VIII.

1537. April 8.

The Privy Council to the Duke.

AFTER our right hearty commendations to your good Lordſhip. By this bearer your ſervant, the ſame ſhall receive the King's Highneſs's letters, containing his Grace's reſolution upon your ſuit, for acceſs unto his preſence, (which we doubt not but your wiſdom will take in good part: conforming yourſelf to that thing that may be moſt to his contentation. and to the advancement of his affairs) with certain other things in the ſame letters contained, which we be aſſured you will ſee accompliſhed, as ſhall appertain. And foraſmuch as we did lately write unto you, the King's Highneſs's reſolution touching the borders, with ſuch cauſes as his Grace did alledge for the ſame; and that we have received no anſwer thereunto, his Highneſs deſiring to hear your farther opinion in that matter, which he doubted not, but you have ere this time well digeſted, and thoroughly debated, hath commanded us by theſe letters, to require your anſwer in that behalf, which we deſire you we may receive by the next meſſenger.

And whereas your Lordſhip doth write, that in caſe the conſcience of ſuch perſons, as did acquit Levyning, ſhould be examined, the fear thereof might trouble others in the like caſe; the King's Majeſty conſidering his treaſon to be moſt manifeſt, apparent and confeſſed, and that all offenders in that caſe be principals, and none acceſſaries, doth think it very neceſſary, that the means uſed in that matter may be blotted out, as a thing which may reveal many other matters worthy his Highneſs's knowledge: and doth therefore deſire you not only to ſignify their names, as was before written unto you, but alſo to travail all that you can, to beat out the myſtery thereof. Wherein we ſuppoſe alſo, you ſhall do unto his Majeſty, high and acceptable ſervice. And becauſe you write, that the conveyance up

of

of all the priſoners that be written for, ſhould require a great number of perſons for the ſurety of the ſame, which ſhould ſomewhat diſfurniſh you, his Grace is content you ſhall cauſe as many of them to come up at their liberty, by your command, as you think will obſerve the ſame: which ſhall alſo alleviate the charges his Highneſs ſhould be at in that journey. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From the Rolls *, the 8th of April.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured Friends.

Endorſed, *Dureſme*, 11 *Aprilis*.

* Here the Council ſometimes met at the Lord Crumwell's lodgings, who was Maſter of the Rolls.

No. IV.

[The two following letters from Roger Aſcham, and Sir Richard Moryſon, containing ſome minute particularities of the Emperor Charles V. are thought worthy to be publiſhed. Sir Richard Moryſon was a good ſcholar, and we are told, read over Herodotus and Demoſthenes in his journey with his Secretary, Roger Aſcham, the famous Grammarian, and one of the Revivers of Polite Literature in England.]

Roger Aſcham's communication with Monſ. D'Arras, at Landau, Oct. 1, 1552. To Sir Richard Moryſon.

AFTER your hearty commendations done, according to your inſtructions, I deſired his Lordſhip in your name, to take in good part, this my coming to the Court, truſting, that he would conſider, that the deſire of doing your duty to the King's Majeſty, did move you to ſend me to him at this time. For now, when you had learned, that the Ambaſſador of Portugal was in the Court, and that you were ſent from a greater Prince than he was, you truſted his wiſdom would conſider, that you could not make a good reckoning at home, of your duty abroad, except you might be both in the Court and in the Camp as well as he. Therefore your ſuit was, that you might alſo forthwith come thither; for his Lordſhip might be well aſſured, that he of Portugal, nor the King his maſter, could be more glad the one to write, and the other hear, of the Emperor's moſt proſperous ſucceſs, in all this journey, than you were, both preſently here,

here, and alſo to write it diligently home; nor no Prince nor country more in daily expectation of the Emperor's Majeſty's lucky proceedings, than is the King's Highneſs our Maſter, and all his whole realm of England; and here I pauſed. EDWARD VI.

Monſ. D'Arras's anſwer was,—As concerning the Ambaſſador of Luſitania (for ſo he named him always) I pray you deſire your Maſter not to think much, that the Emperor at this time hath given order to the Ambaſſador, and to Secretary Groſs, to intreat for the convey of his daughter to her huſband, the King of Luſitane's ſon, which is the only cauſe of the abode of that Ambaſſador in this Court. And ſo likewiſe, if your Ambaſſador had any matter of intreaty betwixt the two Princes, he may come or ſend at his pleaſure. Likewiſe I truſt he will conſider, that it ſtandeth the Emperor much in hand to be well aſſured that under the pretence of the Ambaſſador's retinues, the enemies have not too open means to look into his Majeſty's matters and doings. Therefore, except ſome ſpecial matter of the Emperor and the Princes whom they ſerve, do require otherwiſe, all Ambaſſadors muſt be content that his Majeſty, for his own private affairs, do, as his wiſdom ſhall lead him thereunto. And concerning the King your Maſter's glad expectation for the proſperous ſucceſs, his Majeſty thereof is moſt aſſured. And here the Biſhop with a friendly countenance ſaid unto me, ye know theſe matters do belong not a little to the King your maſter, for ye are not ignorant how this year the Frenchmen have robbed England above 150,000l.; and beſide all old ſpites of France done unto England, we truſt the King's Majeſty, his honourable Council, and realm, cannot forget how unjuſtly not long ſince the French King hath dealt with him, in his younger years, even when he was troubled with ſtirs at home, *nec id ratione juſti belli, ſed potius injuſti latrocinii, ut alias conſuevit facere*, (theſe were his words) as the Emperor's Majeſty was always England's Friend, as his anceſtors have been, and will continue unto his life's end. His words were

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earneſtly ſpoke in theſe matters, which being too deep for me to wade in, I thought not good to enter into them; but thus much I thought it meet to ſay, that I knew the King's wiſdom and his Council, did ſo weigh, he his honour, and they the ſafety of his perſon and wealth of his realms, as neither wrong would be borne, nor benefits be forgotten, which were done to his Grace and his realm, and ſo turned to my errand again and ſaid,

Seeing the Emperor's Majeſty will not have the Ambaſſadors with their retinue in his camp, yet becauſe my Maſter knoweth, that certain agents be ſuffered to tarry in the Court, at leaſt it might pleaſe your Lordſhip, that John Bernardin the King's Majeſty's ſervant, may attend likewiſe there, who might without fail there ſpeedily write home, his Majeſty's good proceeding in this journey.

His anſwer was, Indeed certain agents belonging to cities and Princes under his Majeſty, as from F. Gonzaga Pietro di Toledo, Piacenza, &c. remain in this Court to ſerve the Emperor's own purpoſes for theſe places, but all other muſt be content to follow his order; for aſſure yourſelf, no agent, ſecretary, or man of any Ambaſſador ſhall be ſuffered to write or tell out, what is done here, but if they be taken, they muſt ſuffer ſuch order as is appointed by the Emperor's Majeſty. And John Bernardin leſs than any other. For when I was on the other ſide of the Roan, Bernardin came unto me, as he ſaid, to take his leave of me, for on the next morrow he would take his journey into England, ſaying he could not agree with my Lord Ambaſſador, purpoſing, belike, *hoc ſermone me capere*, which thing I was not content to hear, but ſo diſmiſſed him. And ſurely if he come any more to this Court, *jubebo illum apprehendi et comprehendi vinculis*, and I pray you tell him ſo for me, if it be your chance to ſee him hereafter. And I pray you commend me heartily to my Lord Ambaſſador, and tell him, he ſhall, of all Ambaſſadors, be the firſt certified of our affairs, and in his private matters he

muſt be content to ſend neither you, nor no other of his men, but write by ſome belonging to this Court, and I will friendly and ſpeedily diſpatch his requeſts. And thus I, having ſpeedy acceſs at my coming, and gently diſmiſſed at my parting, came my way.

R. A.

Sir Richard Moryſon to the Lords of the Council.

PLEASE it your good Lordſhips. The King's Majeſty's inſtructions, with letters from your honours, bearing date the 24th of September, I received at Spires, the 4th of this month; which as ſoon as I had well peruſed, and learned the King's Highneſs's pleaſure, then I forthwith made towards the Court, where I found ſuch favour, as I had acceſs to his Majeſty, almoſt as ſoon as I came; for I ſent my Secretary from me, which had ridden half the way, to ſhow Monſ. D'Arras * that I was coming to the Court, with letters from the King my Maſter to the Emperor, and ſomewhat I had alſo to ſay by word of mouth from his Highneſs unto his Majeſty, truſting that foraſmuch as Ambaſſadors might not long bide nigh the camp he would help ſhortly that I might have audience. And becauſe ſuch good will as D'Arras ſhowed at this my coming, may give your honours the better to judge of the Emperor's gladneſs from mine arrival, I will orderly touch what he did. At my Secretary's coming, D'Arras was with the Emperor, and ſo finding Mr. Adrian of the Emperor's chamber, Aſcham made him the means that D'Arras came to him ſtrait, who learning the cauſe of his coming, went in, and told the Emperor the matter, and forthwith bad Aſcham go home with him, for I ſhould ſtraitway be provided of a lodging. By chance I went into the town, when D'Arras was going home to his houſe, who very gently willed me to go home with him, for I ſhould ſhift me in his lodging, and do what

1552. October 7.

* Biſhop of Arras, afterwards Cardinal Granville.

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veniſon, that I might taſte of his wine. I ſaw a diſh of olives, and ſo did eat one of them, and brought him good luck in a cup of wine, which he would needs I ſhould taſte. His kindneſs was very great, in compariſon of any that ever I received in this Court, and I thought my good lucks came together, for Bernardine was gone that morning towards England, as he told divers, and I was thus cockered of the Biſhop at afternoon, which both were ſuch news to me, and ſo welcome, that I wiſt not whether I was gladder, that Bernardine was gone from this Court, or of this my rare entertainment with D'Arras; but I muſt go on in order with my matter. I, for that I had more liſt to talk than to eat, would no veniſon, and therefore the paſty was carried to my men, and they much made of. He and I fell to talking again, he groping to know mine errand, and I keeping it for the Emperor. He aſked me, whether the ports were ſhut in England, as he had word from Flanders, or no? I ſaid, I neither knew of any cauſe why they ſhould be kept, or heard of any keeping of them, more than that he had ſaid. And whilſt we thus talked, his Chamberlain came from the Court, and told him, that the Emperor did now look for me. D'Arras ſeeing my horſe without a foot-cloth, did offer me his mule. But I gave him thanks, and, ſaving your honours, in buſkings and ſpurs, and other ſhort apparel, made my horſe ſerve me well enough. And in going I ſaid, I knew well mine errand would now not be long hid from him. He brought me forth of his houſe, and tarried abroad, till I was on horſeback, then alſo courteouſly with his cap in hand, taking leave of me; and thus being come to the Court, I found Adrian of the chamber waiting for me, who was ſo ready to bring me in to the Emperor, that I was fain to intreat him, to give me leave to breathe me a little, for that I had come apace up a long pair of ſtairs. Upon this ſhort pauſe, I followed Adrian, and found the Emperor at a bare table without a carpet, or any thing elſe upon it, ſaving his clock, his bruſh, his ſpectacles, and his picktooth. At my coming in,

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in, I offered to ſtand upon that ſide of his Majeſty, which was next to the door, but it being on his left hand, he willed me to go almoſt round about the table, that I might ſtand on his right ſide, perhaps for that he heareth better on the one ſide than on the other; but as I took it, he did it to honour the King my maſter. Here, after the delivery of the King's Highneſs's letters, which his Majeſty received very gently, putting his hand to his bonnet, and uncovering the better part of his head, I did efforce myſelf with as good a countenance as I could, and with as good words as my wit would ſerve me to deviſe, in the riding almoſt of twenty Engliſh miles, to ſhow the gladneſs of the King my Maſter, for that his Majeſty, in ſo long and painful a journey, either had his health continually, or was by being ſometime indiſpoſed, ſoon brought to perfecter health. I did ſay beſides much more, there could be few that did more rejoice at his Majeſty's ſo honourable and fortunate approaching towards the Low Countries, than did the King my Maſter, who did repute all his Majeſty's good ſucceſſes, to be as his own, and as glad as of any that could happen to himſelf; beſeeching his Majeſty to believe me in this, I added nothing of mine own, but faithfully did ſay in Italian, that the King's Majeſty had, word for word, appointed me in Engliſh, and ſaid the King's Majeſty even in theſe years, did contend with his noble father either in loving the Low Countries of Flanders, or in deſire to ſhow pleaſure to his Majeſty, Lord of them. He did not ſuffer me to go on, but with the leaſt pauſe that I could make, he did utter unto me in gentle words, that he took the King his good brother's letters in very thankful part, and took his ſalutations, and ſending of me to him with ſuch a friendly meſſage, as they did right well deſerve, ſaying, as well as he could (for he was newly rid of his gout and fever, and therefore his nether lip was in two places broken out, and he forced to keep a green leaf within his mouth, at his tongue's end, a remedy as I took it, againſt ſuch his dryneſs, as in his talk did increaſe upon him), ſaying therefore

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as well as he could, he neither had nor could forget the King's Majeſty's Father's love, at ſundry times ſhewn unto him, nor deceive that truſt, which at his death he did put him in, recommending unto his truſt, the King his ſon. He would not forget the amity, that ſo many years had laſted between the realm of England and the houſe of Burgundy; he truſted the King his good brother had in theſe his young years, found friendſhip and no hurt at his hand, and that he had ſeen a deſire in him perpetually to preſerve this antient amity, uſing this ſentence, that old amities which had been long tried, and found good, are to be made much of; and this he ſpake a little louder than he did the reſt, as though he would, indeed, have me think that he did earneſtly mean, that he ſaid. And yet hath he a face, that is as unwont to diſcloſe any hid affection of his heart, as any face that ever I met withal in my life; for there all white colours, which, in changing themſelves, are wont in others to bring a man certain word, how his errand is liked or miſliked, have no place in his countenance; his eyes only do bewray as much as can be picked out of him. He maketh me oft think of Solomon's ſaying, Heaven is high, the earth is deep, a King's heart is unſearchable; there is in him almoſt nothing that ſpeaketh, beſides his tongue, and that at this time, by reaſon of his leaf, and foreneſs of his lip, and his accuſtomed ſoftneſs in ſpeaking, did but ſo ſo utter things to be well underſtood, without great care to be given to his words; and yet he did ſo uſe his eyes, ſo move his head, and order his countenance, as I might well perceive, his great deſire was, that I ſhould think all a good deal better meant, than he could ſpeak it; and as I dare in ſo weighty a matter, I do ſurely think, he meant the moſt of what he ſaid. Sure I am, he is too wiſe not to wiſh the King's Majeſty to be fully his. EDWARD VI.

When he did pauſe, and that I had licence to ſpeak again, I entered into the Turk's matter, ſaying as much therein, as might both ſhow, in what peril Chriſtendom is and what praiſe the King's Majeſty's good nature did worthily deſerve, which being fartheſt off of all.

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all Chriſtian Princes from the danger, is the firſt and readieſt of them all, to think upon the remedy. And in this his Majeſty's great zeal did appear, that he offered his aid, only for pity borne to the miſerable ſtate of Chriſtendom; not deſired to it, but moved rather by the harm like to light upon his friends, than upon himſelf, although by courſe of nature his Majeſty was like enough to live while part of the miſery might be felt even in England, if the Turk ſhould do his will in Hungary, and in theſe coaſts of Germany, which two years together he had very cruelly aſſaulted; making the King's offer, I did ſay, when his Majeſty ſhould ſee it expedient, he was fully bent to accord with him and other Chriſtian Princes and Eſtates for the abaſing of ſuch a cruel and common enemy, not only to the Chriſtians, but to Chriſt himſelf. And here he ſaid, my good brother meaneth this his aid, only againſt our enemy the Turk. I ſaw he liked this offer as it were well enough, but he made not much of it, thinking in very deed, as I might perceive, to have heard ſomewhat of joining of forces againſt another enemy of his, to whom he beareth as little good-will as he can do to the Turk, as at whoſe hands he hath received more diſpleaſures, than at the Turk's. And here, he having ſo good an occaſion to have ſaid ſomewhat of the French King, whether it was for that he ſpake with ſome pain, or whether he would that I ſhould ſpeak firſt againſt him, did not ſo much as once name him; howbeit, I do gueſs, he looked for ſome direct anſwer of the ſuit which the Regent* made to the King's Majeſty, as concerning the aid for Luxemburgh, wherein I would have made a foul error, if, the Emperor ſaying nothing, I would have ſought redreſs thereof. For how could I have found his grief but I muſt have granted there was juſt cauſe of his grief? and therefore he hiding the ſore, it was not my part to complain. And for this cauſe, the more he ſeemed indifferent to preſs me, the more lay I in wait not to paſs my commiſſion, being content to reſtrain my talk,

* The Regent of the Netherlands, the Emperor's ſiſter.

and

and to think he meant to anſwer me by D'Arras, uſing in very deed ſeldom to determine his pleaſure out of hand, where D'Arras hath brought the matter to him before. And yet I ſaid ſo much to him herein, that his Majeſty ſaid, he did very much rejoice to hear the zeal in ſo young a King to find ſo good a will, ſo great a deſire, to mean good to ſo many, and prayed me to give to his good brother from him, his hearty thanks, for this his good and princely offer. And when I had promiſed his Majeſty to do both it, and any thing elſe that might pertain to the duty of a good Miniſter, he gave me his hearty thanks, but I did perceive he looked for better news at my hands, and thought all theſe the leaſt part of mine errand. It may be he had heard, before my coming, how the French ſhips were ſtayed in England, which news were ſo brim in the Court at mine arrival, that while I was with the Emperor, Secretary Bane was in hand with Aſcham, to know whether I had brought with me the confirmation of theſe news or not, ſaying he was the Emperor's Secretary, and therefore he might truſt him with news, which he ſhould ſhortly know, though he did not tell him the ſame. Yea, they had alſo bruited it in the Court, before my coming, that our Ambaſſador in France, had ſaid in expreſs terms to the French King, that if he did not forthwith make reſtitution of ſuch goods as were wrongfully taken from our merchants, he had commandment from the King our Maſter, to denounce him cruel war. It was alſo reported and allowed in Court, for true news, that our ports were kept ſhut, and that none might paſs out of England to any place, that perchance he that looked to hear all theſe good news, and more too at my coming, thought I had told him very little, having but a meant aid againſt the Turk to tell him. For men do ſooner find a lack when they miſs that they hoped for, than take thankfully that they think on. I ſeeing no occaſion to ſpeak of any man to be ſent into England, did as I was bidden, in ending my meſſage, leave the conſideration thereof to his Majeſty's wiſdom, not miſtruſting

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him. I thought the news good as they were, and was glad I might bring them hither, as well for that they did both ſhow a great good nature in the King my Maſter, and alſo a great care in him toward the ſafety of the Emperor's ſtate, honour, and dominions. I thought if other Princes might be by long intreaty, as well perſuaded to ſet upon ſo noble an enterpriſe, as the King of England was bent to it out of his own good nature, the Turk ſhould be driven to do hurt ſomewhere elſe, or to do none to Chriſtendom from henceforth. D'Arras told me, if I had no more, he would go to the Emperor, and ſay, his Majeſty had heard as much as I had commiſſion to ſay. It ſeemeth they would fain have given me a new commiſſion. Mine anſwer was, he ſhould do well ſo to do, for I was a Miniſter, and could not appoint myſelf, to ſay any thing in my Maſter's name, without a warrant for it; from myſelf I could ſay ſomewhat, not as Ambaſſador, nor one bidden to ſay it, but as one that, with the King my Maſter, did earneſtly wiſh a ſafety to all the Emperor's things; and if he would give me leave to lay aſide mine office, mine Ambaſſadorſhip, and privately to talk with him, as a poor friend might ſpeak with an Emperor's great Counſellor, I would tell him what I thought; marry, I would ſay it to hear no more of it. By the way from Spires hitherward, I thought I ſaw I might be bold with the Emperor's Majeſty, to have ſaid unto him, that he ſhould do well to ſend ſome ſpecial men both to the King's Majeſty, and alſo to other Princes, deviſing with each of them, how this league againſt the Turk might be well made; and if you think as I do, let me ſit out, and make the deviſe your own; if ye like it not, I ſhall better bear it to be counted unwiſe, than unwilling to help forward that which I take to be ſo beneficial to all Chriſtendom. For what hurt can the Turk do to Chriſtendom, if Chriſtians do not back him? And here D'Arras ſaid enough againſt the French King, and ſaid he would ſhow me a pretty way of writing news, and going to a coffer of his, he brought out a couple of

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blanks ſent by Darramont from Conſtantinople to the French King, wherein might be written ſuch news as might beſt ſerve the French King's purpoſe, and be taken for news come from the Turk's Court, becauſe Darramont had ſubſcribed both the blanks with his hand and name. I ſaw both the blanks, but whether they were Darramont's or like to be his, I know not. After this and much other talk, I took my leave of him, and he ſaid he would to the Emperor. At four o'clock his Chamberlain cometh to me again, and prayeth me to take ſo much pains as to come again to his Maſter. When we were both ſet, he told me he had ſhewed the Emperor, that what I was commanded to ſay, I had ſaid it all, who once again told me, he thought I might of good conſideration, for not troubling his Majeſty long, who was as yet not well recovered, have kept ſome particularities in ſtore; but ſaith he, ſeeing you have nothing elſe to ſay unto him, he ſaith thus to you, that ye muſt render his moſt hearty thanks unto his good brother, and ſay that his Majeſty maketh great account of this his kind and friendly offer, and therefore will forthwith addreſs his letter unto the Regent, that ſhe for her nighneſs may both underſtand the preſent occurrences of England, and alſo know further the King's Majeſty's mind, touching the offer which ye have in his Majeſty's name made unto him, and uſe it as ſhe ſhall ſee cauſe. And, ſaid he, as I told the Emperor, ye could not enlarge your commiſſion, ſo I alſo told him, what ye thought as of yourſelf, for the which your honeſt and friendly advice, he gives you his moſt hearty thanks, not miſtruſting, but ye that thus carefully do think of things, will ſo ſet out his good will, favour and love, to the King his good brother, as the amity may daily increaſe. The Emperor you ſee is no catcher up of other men's things, but could be well content to lack a good portion of that he hath, if without impeachment to his honour, he could let go his juſt inheritance. And here, he ſaid, the Emperor did wiſh the like godly mind in the reſt of the Princes, that he found in the King, his good brother, and

did truſt he ſhould be a King of as great honour as hath been in England many hundred years. This, and an hundred times as much, he ſpake with ſuch affection, as, if words may be thought to mean what they ſay, there can be no more wiſhed for, than is to be hoped for. The reſt I leave to your wiſdoms to weigh, more I cannot ſay in this matter. For occurrents here, there be no more than I ſent your honours in my laſt letters. It may be, Weſton may meet with ſome by the way, for that every hour we look to hear, that the Duke of Alva, and Marches Albert have bickled together. At the Court, there is no talk of the Emperor's going from Landau. Monſieur D'Arras has promiſed to write them unto me, when there come any good news, and if there had been any ready made, I do not doubt but I ſhould have had ſome. And thus I take me leave moſt humbly of your Lordſhips.

From Spira, the 7th of October, 1552.

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

RICHARD MORYSON *.

* This letter and R. Aſcham's were tranſcribed from the originals in the Paper Office.

No. V.

Harleian Lib. 252. 15.

The Journey of the Queen's Ambaſſadors unto Rome, anno 1555. *The Reverend Father in God the Biſhop of Ely, and Viſcount Montagu, then Ambaſſadors; who ſet out of Calais in Picardy, on Wedneſday, being Aſh-Wedneſday, the 27th of February.*

[This Journal, though not writ by one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the train of the Ambaſſadors, contains many curious particulars of the face of the country, the appearance of the great towns, and the cuſtoms of Italy at that time. Some minutiæ and inaccuracies muſt be overlooked. This is the laſt embaſſy which went from England to pay public homage to the See of Rome. Lord Caſtlemain, ſent by King James, could only addreſs the Pope in the name of his Maſter, and of the Engliſh Catholics; not that of the nation.]

FROM Calais to Boulogne, ſeven leagues, paſſing by Sandyforde Abby, and through Morgyſon, which were both deſtroyed by Henry VIII.

From Boulogne to Monſtrueil, ſeven leagues, paſſing by Hardito caſtle, which ſtandeth upon a great marſh, and a wood on the one ſide of it. Monſtrueil ſtandeth high as Boulogne doth, Boulogne having on the north-eaſt and ſouth ſide of it, a marſh. At our being there, they were fortifying and enlarging of the town. It was better manned by much than Boulogne.

From Monſtrueil to Abbeville, ten leagues, leaving a town on the right hand. This town ſtandeth very ſtrongly, by reaſon of marſh grounds about it, and the river of Somme paſſing by it.

From

From Abbeville to Amiens, ten leagues, paſſing by a caſtle of Monſ. de Rion's of Flanders, and a bridge named Pont de Remy, and by a houſe of the Vidames Pequigny, leaving always on the left ſide of us, the river of Somme. Amiens ſtandeth on the river of Soane, in a marvellous even ground, the town being walled about, and ſome few Engliſh miles in circuit; the water of Soane runneth in ſeven ſtreets of the town. In this town we ſaw the reliques of St. John's head, very richly encloſed in gold, and many precious jewels. The church very beautiful, and adorned with cunning workmanſhip. The Ambaſſadors were lodged in the Duke of Vendoſme's houſe. There is alſo a place called St. Dennis church-yard, which is thicker beſet with ſundry faſhioned croſſes, than any man can well number; and very good devotion there cuſtomably ſhewed, of all ſorts. MARY 1555.

From Amiens to Breteuil, ſeven leagues. In our way we ſaw the firſt vineyards.

From Breteuil to Clermont, ſeven leagues. There we ſaw ſix pictures of Gentlemen hanged upon the gibbets, ſtanding in the midſt of the market-place; but the gentlemen themſelves, were fled away. There is very good wine at Clermont.

From Clermont to Luzarche, ſeven leagues, paſſing through a town, St. Leu. We paſſed alſo over the river Oiſe, in a ferry-boat. This river parteth Picardy and France.

From Luzarche to Paris, ſix leagues, leaving on our left hand, the Conſtable's houſe, called Chantilly, with a very great poole a digging to it. We ſaw alſo another houſe, which the ſaid Conſtable had but lately built, called Ecouen; which was praiſed for the faireſt houſe in France. This houſe ſtandeth upon a pleaſant large hill, yet in the middle of a great plain; the one ſide is employed to corn, and the other full of vineyards. The hill is full of wood on every ſide, ſaving the top, where the houſe ſtandeth; yet is there no tree but beareth fruit; the greateſt ſort, cheſnuts, wallnuts, pine or fir trees.

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The ſmaller, figs, cherries, almonds, peaches, and others, which was to the beholders a marvellous ſight and pleaſure. This houſe is built in a quadrant form, to the height of two ſtories plain, and the roof with gable windows caſt out for a third; the foreſaid gable windows being of a marvellous greatneſs, anſwering to the others beneath, in number, faſhion, and quantity. The whole houſe is of free ſtone, ſo white, ſo great and fair as may be ſeen; the covering is of blue ſlate; the roof (as through all France) more raiſed up, than our buildings, the which giveth much beauty to their houſes. The gate is made extant with pillars, and thrice vaulted, and in the uppermoſt vault ſtandeth St. George on horſeback, wrought alſo in free ſtone, to a marvellous greatneſs, the pillars likewiſe being Tuſcan work. In the inſide of the ſaid gate, two of the loweſt pillars are of blue fair marble, anſwerable to a like couple right over againſt them on the fartheſt ſide, there being a like front and to that galleries before. Of the four ſides of this quadrant, the gate ſide, with that over againſt it, are appointed to two galleries, the other couple to chambers. The galleries of the gate are of a lower roof than the other three, and therefore hath but his gallery above of a high vaulted roof, and his terraſs beneath, open to the court and quadrant. This gallery is twenty-one feet broad, and eighty in length: the pavements are very broad, and like even, ſtained with the arms of the Crown and Peers of France, the King's poeſy being *Donec totum impleat orbem.* The roof within is gilt, the ridge tiles without are alſo gilt. The cieling within is of walnut. The other gallery was hanged with rich arras, where was alſo a chart of the Holy Land, made of divers woods, and of natural colours, ſet in ſmall pieces, as the demonſtration of the ſaid places required, and ſeemed rather to have been done with the pencil, than otherwiſe. At the end of the gallery, under the ſame roof, is the chapel, the cieling whereof is like workmanſhip to the chart afore-named, of Brazil, furric, walnut tree, and other like woods, joined in the figures

figures of the apoſtles, and other curious works. The table of the altar, with the images thereabout, be of white marble, with two pillars of fine jett. The chambers are not great, but very well conveyed, having a narrow gallery to convey you to every one of them apart; but the gallery is cloſe, and appears not outward to them that be in the court. The chimneys ſtand two feet off the wall into the chambers, and yet ſeem not to hurt the room, nor the ſight thereof, becauſe they be raiſed in the midſt of the ſide of the chamber, having a ſide light of the window; and again, they keep even largeneſs to the roof of the chamber; all above the marble, planted with pleaſant works, and in oil coloured. In the court ſtandeth an huge great horſe of copper, which ſhall be ſet upon the gate, with the image of the King upon the back of him.

Within two leagues of this houſe is St. Dennis, where all the Kings of France be buried, and ſometimes crowned. But the appointed place of coronation is at a city called Rheims in Champagne.

The town of St. Dennis is neither fair nor large, but the church is great, and the treaſure alſo. In this church we ſaw the ſhrine of St. Dennis made of ſilver, and gilt, and a great roode of clean gold, lacking but one arm, the which Francis the French King took away to maintain his wars; adjoining inſtead thereof, for recompence, one of ſilver, and gilt. There is alſo one whole unicorn's horn, which was almoſt two ells long grown taper wiſe, and wreathed, as we ſee it commonly painted. This horn is but ſlender to the length, yet notwithſtanding maſſive and heavy. There was alſo St. Dennis's head (*ut dicitur*) richly encloſed in gold, and beſet with precious ſtones and orient pearl. Likewiſe a piece of the holy croſs, and one of the nails wherewith Chriſt was nailed thereto, ſet in gold. We were alſo brought into the treaſury there, where we ſaw reliques in another place with ornaments of the King and Queen's coronation. And firſt I ſaw theſe reliques, a piece of the holy croſs, in a croſs of gold; the finger of St. Thomas that he put into the wound of our

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Lord; a griffin's claw trimmed with ſilver, as great as a hunter's horn of the middle ſort; St. Benedict's head; St. Dennis's Penner and Inkhorn; a cup was Solomon's, and one other made of an Agather, of a marvellous greatneſs and riches. I ſaw alſo the crowns of the King and Queen: upon the King's crown, a ruby as big as a wall-nut, and on every part ſet with ſtones. Alſo the ſword and ſcepter of the Kings, ſet with maſſy gold, the knob thereof being ſet with diamonds and pearl. Alſo the King's ſpurs of gold, and the portraitures of Nero, Charlemayne, and other Emperors.

Between St. Dennis and Paris, there are divers croſſes, much like to churching croſſes, but not ſo big altogether, nor ſo high; where (as it is ſaid) St. Dennis reſted after he was beheaded.

Thus rode we towards Paris where Monſ. le Bois Dauphin met the Ambaſſadors in the highway to Paris, which city ſtandeth ſomewhat low upon the river of Seine, which divideth the univerſity from the town, compaſſing round about the city, which lieth between them both as an iſle, yet is Paris altogether of a round form. It is very fair and great, and full of merchants; but the ſtreets be very foul, by reaſon their houſes be very high and the ſtreets very narrow. The city alone hath nineteen churches in it, with the great church of Notre Dame, in the ſteeple whereof, hangeth a bell, weighing 33,000 lb. The French King hath a houſe there called Louvre.

I ſaw in Paris the wonderful inſtrument of Oroncius, then alive; therein was to be ſeen the courſe of the ſeven planets preſently moving, with aſpects the one to the other. I alſo ſaw the coining houſe, with the new coins ſo perfectly ſtamped, that in my judgment no man is able to conterfeit the ſame. The mill that ſtandeth in the midſt of Seine, ſerveth to ſtrike the bullion, and the work is ſo ſpeedy, that putting in a lathe of metal an inch thick, and a foot long, he bringeth it quickly to the thinneſs of a French ſous, and the thickneſs ſufficient to the ſtamp is, when the lathe will enter in a little notch,

that

that is in a ſteel . We tarried there the ſeventh, eighth, and ninth day.

From Paris to Melun, ſeven leagues, leaving on the left hand, one league from Paris, a caſtle of the King's, built by King Henry V. King of England, named Bois de Vincenne, where all the priſoners taken in the wars againſt the Emperor, do lie in hold; and ſo paſſing through two towns, the one called Pont Charenton, and the other Ville Neuve St. George. At Pont Charenton there meeteth two rivers, Marne and Seine, and ſo runneth to Paris. Almoſt at the gate we went out of, ſtandeth the caſtle, called the Duke of Bedford's caſtle, and the Baſtellion, without the gate, where the Frenchmen now build a pace. In Melun ſtandeth a caſtle environed with the river of Seine, built by Engliſhmen.

From Melun to Fountainbleau, four leagues, where the French King's Court lay. Two miles off the Court, certain gentlemen of the King's houſe met our Lords, and courteouſly entertained them, and brought them the neareſt way to the Court, where they lovingly received them, and led them into a gallery, where they had every one of them prepared a very fair lodging, coſtly hanged, and ſet forth with as rich beds as might be ſeen. The houſe is called Fontainbleau, for the goodly fountain it hath in the houſe, and the fairneſs of the water. This houſe is both beautiful and larger than any I had before ſeen in France or England. I may reſemble the ſtate thereof to the honour of Hampton Court, which as it paſſeth Fontainbleau, with the great hall and chambers, ſo is it inferior in outward beauty and uniformity, which praiſeth all kind of building moſt, for the covering thereof is blue ſlate, and all the reſt of free ſtone.

There is an out court or quadrant, whereof one ſide is a gallery, to walk in, being in length ſix hundred feet. There is alſo on the ſouth ſide a garden, having in it a great pond, the walks and allies ſhadowed with pine and cyprus trees. At the end of one of the allies is a vault curiouſly counterfeited as out of the rock natural,

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whither they do repair to refreſh themſelves in hot weather. There is another garden more privy, ſet full of antiquities of copper. In the face of the great lodging, riſeth a great fountain, as I have ſaid, ſpouting with five ſpouts upright, out of a natural rock, or elſe, very naturally wrought. This houſe ſtandeth in a valley, compaſſed about with rocky hills, but not very great; and the country is foreſt, full of deer, wolves, and wild boars. The name of the foreſt is Barre, the houſe ſtandeth three leagues within it every way. The Lords came to the Court about four o'clock, and within one hour after were brought to the King's preſence, who received them very genteelly, and embraced as many gentlemen of the train as came unto him. After the Lords had ſome talk with the King, they were brought into the Queen's chamber of preſence, where the French Queen, accompanied with the Queen of Scots, and two of her own daughters, were ready to receive them. From thence they departed to their lodgings, where were ready to wait upon them, divers of the French King's gentlemen, being appointed to attend them dinner and ſupper during their abode there. The next day after, being the 11th day, the reſt of the train that could not be lodged at the Court came thither, and deſired certain Scottiſh gentlemen, that they might ſee the Queen of Scots; who being told of their deſire to ſee her, immediately ſhe very courteouſly came forth out of her privy chamber into her chamber of preſence amongſt us all, and ſaid unto us, ſhe was very glad to ſee us, calling us her countrymen. About four o'clock this afternoon the French King came from hunting the wild boar, and then the Lords went and took their leave of him, and the King embraced them, and as many of their gentlemen as came unto him. That done, the ſame night they departed from the Court, and rode to St. Mathurin's. The King is a goodly tall gentleman, well made in all the parts of his body, a very grim countenance, yet very gentle, meek, and well beloved of all his ſubjects.

Henry II.

Catherine de Medicis.

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We remained all this, the 12th day, at St. Mathurin's. This St. Mathurin (as they ſaid) is a holy man, that can help mad men and women, within nine days ſpace, if they do this that follows. The Prieſt, when Maſs is done, muſt call for the madmen or women, to come and kneel before the altar, and when he had ſaid certain prayers, he muſt come and lay flannel upon their heads, and, making the ſign of the Croſs, ſay certain words over them; that ended, they riſe, and go round about the altar four times, and at every time, kiſs the four brazen pillars that ſtand about the altar. Then muſt they offer up unto St. Mathurin, a pottle-pot full of wine, three loaves of bread, and a French ſous in money, which in value in our Engliſh money is ij*d*. ob. q. and doing this for the ſpace of nine days together, they ſay they ſhall have their right wits again.

From St. Mathurin to Montargis, eight leagues, this town ſtandeth ſo well for wood, water, and meadow, as I have not ſeen the like in all France before. There ſtandeth a caſtle, fair for all lodgings; but of no force, the which ſometime (as they ſay) was in the keeping of my Lord Talbot. The houſe is of great receit, and very ſtately. The hall hath a pair of ſtairs fifty-ſix ſteps going up to, it hath alſo ſix chimnies in it, ſixty-five paces long, and twenty paces broad. There is both a guard chamber and a chamber of preſence, the which I have not ſeen in other places in that country.

From Montargis to Briare, nine leagues. By this town runneth the greateſt river in France, called Loyre, leaving it always upon our right hand. It parteth the dutchy of Berry from Nyvernoys, and from Barboys.

From Briare to Cone, eight leagues, through a town called Bony. From Cone to la Charité, eight leagues, leaving on the right ſide of us, over the river of Loyre, a town called Sancer, with a caſtle in it of great force, which town of late is called young Chenevy, of divers men, becauſe of their religion.

From La Charité to Nevers, five long leagues. As we rode by the river of Loyre, we ſaw water mills ſtanding upon boats in the main

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main river, to be removed by the millers to any other place they like better, as they liſt. At Nevers is a bridge twenty-five ſcore paces over, upon the which we paſſed the river of Loyre, and there left it.

From Nevers to St. Pierre le Monaſter, five long leagues. This is a little walled town, where the Juſtices of the country uſe it, and keep their ſeſſions.

From St. Pierre le Monaſter to Moulins, through a town called Villeneuve, leaving the river Allier on our right hand, the which runneth into Loyre. This town of Moulins, is the chiefeſt town in Borbonnois, where is a great and ancient houſe of the Duke of Bourbon's, commodious conduits and gardens. There is a conduit having out of the midſt of the ſtem an artichoke bearing four ripe as it were, and one ſeeded, and out of the leaves ſpringeth water, as rain, very artificially wrought in copper and gilt. Here we ſaw oranges, lemons, pomegranates, growing by labour and diligence of men; for the trees be growing with barrels filled with good earth, and in the winter be removed, under terraſſes and houſes made of purpoſe, and are ever brought out again the ſpring, into the garden again. In the garden be two goodly banqueting houſes, the one of them hath water about it, and the other a great many of ſinging birds in it, of divers ſorts, and at every corner of it, a great hart's head ſtanding, with many other goodly commodities.

There is a bone of a man to be ſeen, whoſe length was ſixteen feet, and found in Vienne in Dauphine. Furthermore I ſaw there the proportion of divers cities, with the walls, churches, and bulwarks, carved in wood very curiouſly.

From Moulins to la Palice, ten leagues. This town ſtandeth upon a hill, the country round about it, being foreſt and heath.

From la Palice to Roanne, ſix long leagues, paſſing a ſmall mountain. There we paſſed the river of Loyre, as we go out of the town towards Italy.

From

From Rouane to Tarare, ſix long leagues. This town ſtandeth in a deep bottom, the hills hanging over on every ſide, and is watered with a narrow ſtream, but ſo ſwift, that within the ſpace of two hundred yards, four mills are driven, two for corn, one to ſaw timber, and another to beat the hemp. The corn mill grindeth with a flat wheel, the water being forced to one ſide of it. The ſaw mill is driven with an upright wheel; and the water that maketh it go, is gathered whole into a narrow trough, which delivereth the ſame water to the wheels. This wheel hath a piece of timber put to the axletree end, like the handle of a broch, and faſtened to the end of the ſaw, which being turned with the force of the water, hoiſteth up and down the ſaw, that it continually eateth in, and the handle of the ſame is kept in a rigall of wood from ſwerving. Alſo the timber lieth as it were upon a ladder, which is brought by little and little to the ſaw with another vice. The hemp mill is much like the cyder mills we have in England, where a ſtone is rolled about in a vault or veſſel, where the hemp lieth.

From Tarare to Lyons, ſix long leagues. Lyons is a goodly city, and a ſtrong, by means of the rocks on the one ſide of it, and the waters on the other ſide. We came into the town on Lyons ſide, a mile before we came to any bridge, and then we paſſed a bridge over the river Saone, and going out of town, we went a long mile in Dauphine ſide, and paſſed a long bridge over the river Rhone. The greateſt part of the town, is as it were an iſle. At the end thereof, both the rivers being joined together. Upon the north ſide of the town is the new fortification, and the caſtle upon the very rock. Upon the ſouth ſide is the church of St. Henry, his corpſe and ſepulchre; the pillar whereunto Chriſt was bound, of blue marble, with white veins; and on the eaſt ſide, a valley or plain, very fruitful. It is evil dwelling there for thoſe that will perjure themſelves, for they ſhall be burned with a fire called St. Anthony's

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fire. We tarried two days at Lyons. Here we had great entertainment of Madame Lacheveriere, a great Lady in Lyons.

From Lyons to Burgoin, five leagues. This town ſtandeth under a great hill, having a good ſoil, with wood and water enough.

From Burgoin to Pont Beauvoiſin, five leagues, through a town named La tour du Pin, paſſing a great wood of cheſnuts. Through this town runneth the river of Giers that cometh from the mountains. The one ſide of the water is Dauphinois, and the other is Savoy. There is alſo a mill to make oil of walnuts.

From Pont Beauvoiſin to Chamberry, five long leagues, where, by the way we paſſed by Mount Aiguberte, a great mountain, and very dangerous, one league high and more, all upon rocks, and a very narrow paſſage. Here, maſter White, whoſe father was Maſter of the Requeſts to Queen Mary, and a gentleman of Ambaſſador Leger to Rome, taking hold of his horſe's head, to pull him nearer the rock ſide, to keep him from falling down the hill, his horſe going back pulled his maſter after him, and both together tumbled down the hill a great way, and there ſtaid, and yet neither of them hurt. This is the chiefeſt town of all Savoy, and hath a great fair caſtle in it, but of no force; it ſtandeth in a valley full of corn, woods and paſture, plenty of fruits, as figs, almonds, &c. We being almoſt at the foot of the hill, and thinking we had but one Engliſh mile to the town, we found it five long miles before we came at it, and the way very ſtrait.

From Chamberry to Aigubelle, five long leagues, through Mount Melian, a pretty town, in which ſtandeth a notable ſtrong caſtle upon a rock, that keepeth the paſſage between the mountains, the which is thought impregnable but by famine or treaſon. By this town runneth the river Lyzore, and through Aigubelle, the river Arte is called Aqua Bella of the Fountains, but the river is exceedingly foul.

The

The church of Aigubelle was founded by a Biſhop of Harteforde, called Petrus de Acqua Bianca.

From Aigubelle to St. Jean de Morienne, ſix long leagues, riding betwixt the mountains of a very great height, all that journey; upon which mountains was plenty of corn and vines, with very many dwelling houſes and cottages, as we call them, and ſome of them thought to be a league high. That day we paſſed over the river of Lyzere four times. This town ſtandeth very barrenly upon the river of Arte, the which falling from the mountains, is ſo ſwift, and makes ſo great a noiſe, that it is able to make a man deaf, and hath no fiſh in it. We rode along this river five days journey. In theſe mountains be wild boars; their hogs are all black; their ſheep great and long legged, with crooked ſnouts; and very many goats.

From St. Jean de Morienne to St. Andre, four long miles, ſtill between the mountains, and thoſe higher to my ſeeing than the other. There was ſuch a noiſe of water beating upon the rocks, and ſuch monſtrous mountains to behold, of a huge height, being always in danger of ſome ſtone falling upon us, that it ſeemed rather a hell than a highway to paſs in. Upon the right hand on the other ſide of thoſe mountains, all the way is Dauphiny. At St. Andre, I coming into a church, about four o'clock in the afternoon, ſpied a young child lying dead upon a board before the image of our Lady, and an old woman ſitting watching and praying by it, having alſo a tallow candle burning, and a great many peaſe and beans in a little tray, the which ſhe had offered unto our Lady. I aſked her in French what ſhe meant to do? And ſhe anſwered, that the child was born dead, and that ſhe looked for the life of it, or at leaſt to burſt out a bleeding in ſome place of the body; and thus they do for the ſpace of fifteen days together till it ſtinked. If it be ſo that it bleed, although it receive no life, it is chriſtened, if not, then it is caſt into the river. In this town news came for certainty, that Pope Julius Tertius died at Rome, the 25th of March.

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From St. Andre to Lanebourg, five long leagues, paſſing by a town called Treſignon, over a great mountain, yet there accounted as none, by reaſon of the ineſtimable height of the other mountains. This day we had great rain and ſnow, and coming under the ſteep of a clift, a great gulf of water-fall, as great as the throw of a mill, fell down, in falling down ſuddenly from the clift was turned into ſnow, and had made there a mighty heap, on which we trod, the ſnow falling continually thick, and yet the ſpace from the fall to the ground cannot be judged above twenty fathom. Among theſe mountains we ſaw on the 26th of March a young partridge. I being among theſe mountains, was drawn in a ſledge a great part of the way for the value of ij*d.*

The way is made out of the rocks and mountains by men's hands; the diet there of the common people in Lent, is nothing elſe but peaſe and hearts, oil and cheſnuts, and yet they be very fat withal.

From Lanebourg to Suſa, ſix long leagues; paſſing over the great mountain Cenis, the which is two leagues to the top, and when we are come to the top, then we have a great plain to go, which is two long leagues and a half; then had we three feet of the mountain (as they call it) to go down, that were half leagues a-piece, two of them, and the third was a whole league; we all paſſed without dangers, thanks be to God, to the great admiration to all the country, and no leſs I aſſure you to them that ſhould hear the truth.

After we got to the top of the mountain, which we came, but with great pain, for I was fain to hire one to lead my horſe up before me and I to come after him holding by the tail, for fear of falling backwards, it was ſo ſteep to the top; by the way I did ſee a poor man lie almoſt drowned in the ſnow, making round balls of ſnow, and eating of them for very hunger.

After we came at the top of the mountain, going the way towards the chappel, named La Chapelle de Trancizes, to wit, the Chappel of the Dead, being half a league: this chappel lieth full of dead

mens ſculls that have died upon the mountain for extreme cold and other misfortunes, and there ſeemeth to be more than one thouſand perſons; whereof ſixteen Launceknights were thrown in there, in March before. MARY. 1555.

From thence we went to the Poſt Houſe, called La Tavaro, an Inn, being half a league off. We had no other ground to go but only ſnow, that was but two feet broad, and hardened with the continual froſt that is there almoſt always. So that in this way, the ſnow was thought to be at the leaſt a ſpear depth and more, the which doth, if there be any heat at all, ſink every two horſes. The very ſame day that we paſſed over this mountain, there were four perſons drowned by going a little out of their way; we were in the more hazard, by reaſon of the great wind that blew, and the abundance of ſnow that fell ſo faſt from the elements, that one of us could not ſee another, being but a ſmall way aſunder, and ſuch was it all the way of the plain of the hill. Deſcending of the plain, we turned upon the way, as though we had been going down a pair of ſtairs, having at every corner under us vallies of ſnow, ſome ten fathom deep, and ſome more. In my going down, I fell willingly above a dozen times, only to ſtay myſelf. What the Knights ſaid it was, I will not write, leſt I ſhould be counted a lyar; but the truth is, no man will believe the danger of the hill but ſuch as know it; and in this wiſe did we turn at every ten or twelve fathoms, for half a league, until we came to a place called the Hoſpital; then turned we in like caſe upon the rocks half a league, until we came to a town called Feriere, and the firſt town of Piedmont, and from thence to another town named Novaleſe, the which payeth twenty-two Crowns to the French King monthly; from thence to Suſa all the way upon good ſtone, but not ſo evil as before. This town Suſa payeth in like caſe monthly unto the French King one hundred Crowns. The 26th of April, five men drowned upon this mount Cenis, and three weeks before that, were three of the Prince of Salerne's men drowned in ſnow. The ſame

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day that we went over mount Cenis, it was told us, that the number that have been drowned there within this half year, is above fifty perſons, by report of the inhabitants thereabouts, and yet in the months of July and Auguſt the ſnow is melted quite away from the plains of the mountain, beſides ſome other; ſo that you ſhall ſee as good ground there as in all Savoy. Furthermore, the town of Suſa is not ſtrong, but yet kept with a garriſon of men, to keep the paſſage between Savoy and Piedmont. Dr. Bennet, ſome time Archdeacon of Saliſbury, and Ambaſſador from King Henry to the Pope, lieth buried in Suſa. Upon the north ſide Suſa is a mountain called Rochemelune, by eſtimation ten leagues high, upon the top whereof ſtandeth a chappel of our Lady of Niges, the which was built by a Jew, that made his vow, he would build a chappel upon the top of the higheſt mountain in Europe, this being the higheſt mountain of all others. The Duke of Bourbon went thither before he went to the ſacking of Rome, to offer up his harneſs to our lady of Niges. It was ſo high, that he made three days journey to the very top of it. We remained at Suſa two days, the third and fourth. Upon mount Cenis there appeareth the way that was cut out of the rock by Hannibal when he entered into Italy.

From Suſa to Avigliana, five long leagues, through three towns, the one called Buſſolin, the ſecond St. Ambroſe, and the third St. George. This town ſtandeth very pleaſant; it hath a caſtle of great force in it, the which payeth monthly to the French King five hundred Crowns.

From Avigliana to Porcin, ... miles, leaving Turin on the right hand of us, which is the chiefeſt town of Piedmont. It ſeemeth to be very fair and ſtrong, and ſtandeth upon the river Po; it was our right way to have gone through it, but we could not be ſuffered to come within it, becauſe their enemies lay ſo near unto it. There, the wars were ſet between them, the French King and the Emperor; they ſkirmiſhed every day through a town named Rivole, which

which payeth ſix hundred Crowns a month to the French King, and by a fort of the French King's, called Mount Calcar, a very ſtrong fort, over the river Po, the which is the greateſt river (as they ſay) in all Italy. We left alſo on the right hand of us, as it were a league from us, a very ſtrong town, named Chieri, a town of war of the French King's; alſo Porcin hath been a very ſtrong town but decayed by the wars, and is now a neuter town. There, for lack of lodgings, we were fain to lie in barns and ſtables all the night, in our hoods.

From Porcin to Aſti, twelve miles; the which being the march, or frontier town of . . . . . and we being to paſs by the holds and caſtles of either party, who had daily ſkirmiſhes together, we were conducted by a French trumpet and a Spaniſh drum, by a town called Villa Nova D'Aſti, French, and another called Villa Franca, Imperial, the towns round about us being all ſpoiled and burnt. Half a mile on this ſide the town of Aſti, the Captain of the town, accompanied with three thouſand men of arms, met the Lords and brought them to the town with great rejoicing, and they ſo curvetted their great horſes, that ſome of them, horſe and men, lay in the ditches; and when we came to the town, they gave the Lords a great volley of ſmall ſhot, and ſome great ordnance ſhot off the walls, as my Lord North's younger ſon was in danger of killing; but there went one galloping to tell my Lords coming, and it was known they were Engliſhmen, ſo that they were glad. For about four o'clock in the afternoon, there was a general proceſſion in the town, in token of rejoicing, as it ſeemed at our coming, ſuppoſing the Lords journey had been, as well to have treated a peace betwixt the Emperor and the French King, as for any matter beſides. In this proceſſion there were thirteen croſſes, and ſuch a number of Friars, as I never ſaw in all my life before, and above two thouſand people I am ſure. The women went ſtrangely apparelled, fitter for maſkers and players than women. This is the firſt town of the Emperor's. Here the Lords had very great

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great preſents given them. The town of Aſti is not very ſtrong of itſelf, but it is well guarded with men of war. The Frenchmen gave alarum to the town this night, we lying there. The next day the Captains and men of arms conveyed the Lords in like manner, out of the town, as they brought them in, and with as much bravery as they could deviſe; for in three ſeveral places as we departed out of town, all the ſoldiers of the town made a guard in very good order, and gave the Lords a volley of ſhot to the number of two hundred. Then, when we came out of the gate, we ſaw two hundred ſhot marching before us in good array, which went along with us a good mile out of the town, and when the Lords came nigh to them, they blew off their pieces, and took their leave of the Lords, and ſo departed back to the town, and went in like manner as they came out.

From Aſti to Alexandria, twenty miles; paſſing by the caſtle of Nonven, which when we came over againſt it, ſhot off, very friendly; and as we paſſed through ſmall towns they rung the bells, in token of rejoicing. At the gates of Alexandria, the Captain of the town, with a great number of Gentlemen, came and entertained the Lords very courteouſly, and brought them to their lodging, the faireſt houſe of the town. As we entered the houſe, there was a great peal of ſquibs ſhot off with a train, which made a very great report, that to our thinking we took them for great pieces of ordnance. That night there came to the Lords from the Emperor's camp, a Gentleman of Spain, called Signior Andrea Rodovico, with a great troop of horſemen, and lay that night in the town to keep the Lords company; the Emperor's camp being but eight miles off the town. Here the Lords and all their train were clearly defrayed at the Knight's coſt and charges for all things, for not eight days before our coming thither, the Captain of the town was taken priſoner of the Frenchmen. The French King had then taken Caſal and the whole ſtate of Mount Ferrat, which is the inheritance of the Duke

Duke of Mantua, enjoining five hundred holds and ſmall towns to them. There runneth a goodly river on the weſt ſide of Alexandria, with a fair bridge over it, and divers mills. MARY. 1555.

From Alexandria to Voghera, twenty miles; being accompanied with Rodovico, before named, and his troop of horſemen. Paſſing over the river at the town's end in a boat, there met us a ſmall number of horſemen, but excellently well appointed, which went forward with us; riding two or three miles further, we were met with a great garriſon of ſoldiers, which brought us through a town called Tortona, with trumpets blowing as they rode; and as we were paſſing through the town, the caſtle played with great ſhot. When they had brought us through the town, many of the horſemen returned to the camp. Then, when we came within a mile of a town called Ponterook, ſoldiers of another garriſon came to attend the Lords, and went forward with us, and being within half a mile of Voghera, a Gentleman of the town, well accompanied, met the Lords, and brought them to their lodgings, where they, and all the train, were defrayed by the King. I never ſaw better horſe, nor better appointed, than thoſe that met the Lords by the way this day.

From Voghera to Pavia, fifteen miles; ferrying over the river of Po. Within a mile of Pavia, being over the river, the Lords and Gentlemen of the town met our Lords, and brought them to the city; paſſing a bridge at the town over the river Teſſin, or Ticinium; upon which bridge ſtood a great number of ſoldiers in good order, and well appointed, and among them three thouſand ſhot, which gave the Lords a brave volley. And ſo, after they had brought them to their lodgings, being the houſe of Signior Hyeroleino Sacco, there the ſtate of Milan defrayed the Lords charges and train, and appointed divers to attend upon them.

All the foot bands of the garriſon came marching to the Lords lodgings in the afternoon, five in a rank, paſſing bravely armed and appointed as ever I ſaw. Here the Lords were very ſumptuouſly feaſted and

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and entertained at the King's charges. Pavia is an old ancient city, and a county, and was in times paſt a kingdom. Lombardy is a goodly plain country, and very rich. Pavia is an univerſity, and very pleaſant for gentlemen to lie in. In the great church there, we ſaw the lively image of St. Auguſtine, and his tomb of white marble very rich; the tomb alſo of Leofranda, the laſt King of Pavia. The tomb of Boetius Severinus; and the tower of Fazen the lawyer. At our going out of the city, to give the Lords their farewel they ſhot off their great ordnance, and ſmall ſhot gave the vollies.

From Pavia to Milan, twenty miles. Five miles from Pavia, we were brought to La-certoza de Pavia, where the Lords dined, and were greatly feaſted. It is the goodlieſt and beſt houſe in all Europe. It was founded by Giovanni Galezzo, Duke of Milan, who lies there interred in a tomb of white marble; the two coffins and the table of the altar are all of ivory, with ſuch workmanſhip, that it is a ſpectacle to all Lombardy. There is a cloyſter forty feet quadrant; the doors, deſks, and ſtools be ſo garniſhed with ſuch notable hiſtories, all of cut work, of divers kinds of woods, that no man poſſibly can paint them out more finely and lively. The marvellous works that be there, as well of the elephant's tooth, as of all kinds of wood, I think there be no where elſe to be found in Europe; howbeit it is not yet all finiſhed. By the way we ſaw the field, where the French King was taken priſoner. Betwixt Pavia and the Charter Houſe, the Duke encloſed a piece of ground with a great high wall, four ſquare, and fifteen miles in compaſs about. This is called his garden, having within it divers ſeveral encloſures, for bears, wild boars, red and fallow deer, wolves, and all other kind of beaſts of venery; which garden, at the battle when the French King was taken priſoner, was ſpoiled by divers breaches that he had made into the ſame. All the Monks of this Charter Houſe be nobly born and deſcended. The revenues of the ſaid Charter Houſe per ann. is fifteen thouſand Crowns.

Crowns. The Lords were very honourably received in Milan, and lodged in a Nobleman's houſe, called Il Signor Conſtantio, where they were highly feaſted at the charge of the King. Thither came, to ſalute the Lords, Il Conte l'Andriano, divers Nobles, and divers gallants of the city. Here the Lords had all the pleaſure that could be ſhewed them, as well by inſtruments of muſic as otherwiſe. The city is by eſtimation ſeven or eight miles about. The form thereof, is like unto a heart, and hath ſix gates, and to every gate, two noblemen of the city appointed, and every gate is bound to marry twelve poor maidens yearly, being at certain charges in their bridals and apparel. Upon Eaſter Tueſday we ſaw twelve maids married, every one of them led with two Noblewomen, they themſelves being clad in white. When they are married, there is given each of them a purſe, with twenty ducats in it, one ſuit of apparel, beſides that on their backs, and their dinner. The walls of the city are exceeding ſtrong, but not altogether finiſhed; and the caſtle alſo, for proviſion and ſtrength, is to be wondered at; as for artillery, munition, corn, wines, oil, bacon, powdered beef, and Parmeſan cheeſe. They make great ſtore of armour in the caſtle; but no townſman may come in at the gate. This caſtle is of ſuch force, as none in all Europe is comparable unto it. The church is an huge thing all of white marble, growing within their own dutchy, at a place called Lago di Como. They bore us in hand, that the covering ſhall be alſo of marble, but is not likely to be finiſhed in our time, notwithſtanding they have daily one hundred labourers upon it.

King Philip of Spain.

There is an hoſpital that may diſpend 25,000 Crowns a year, the proviſion whereof paſſeth all other; for at that preſent, we ſaw one hundred fat oxen in a ſtable, one hundred veſſels of wine, every one containing five tons, in one cellar; the diet ſo cleanly and daintily prepared for the ſick as can be, by the recourſe of ſurgeons and phyſicians, that it is a goodly thing to ſee. In this hoſpital are five

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hundred nurſes to look to the ſick, and to bring up children. Many hoſpitals more there are, ſome for men and ſome for women, and ſome for children, beſides a houſe built without the town, for ſuch as ſhall be infected of the plague, having three hundred and ſixty-five chambers ſeveral. This city is notably rich, and full of merchandize, and artificers, very wealthy; for there is almoſt no artificer's wife but ſhe weareth a chain of gold about her neck or middle. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of Italy lie always in the great towns, and never in the country. The Lords tarried at Milan ſix days, viz. the 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, and 17th.

From Milan to Lodi, twenty miles; paſſing through a town called Marignano, where the Marquis hath a goodly houſe, and the Lords were made a great banquet there, the Marquis Marignano himſelf being at that time General for the Emperor, and lay before Siena, beſieging the town againſt the French King. All the way betwixt Milan and Lodi, we rode as between gardens; and to ſpeak truth, my eyes never ſaw any ſoil comparable to it for beauty and profit. They make hay there thrice a year. Their ground for tillage, beareth them alſo vines and fuel; for their vines are grown up by certain trees called Oppie, that are of a quick growth, therefore . . . . . every three years from one of theſe trees to another, they pull the main branches of the vines, as ſtiff and ſtrait as a cord, ſo that they hurt not the ripening of their corn. And thus their vines and their trees growing in order, there is a ſpace left to the plough, and ſo intermix the corn with the ranks of the vine. There are no woods of ſuch timber as we have, but theſe only, willows, white haſels, and poplars, all ſet by line, in their meadows, paſtures, and grounds for tilling, &c. ſo that you cannot ſee any way from you half a quarter of a mile. They bring their water in every ditch, round about their encloſures, and make them run continually like little rivers of either ſide of the way, and have none other defence but that: and for their commodity, they make their waters

ſo

ſo to run one over another and contrary to each other, becauſe the evenneſs of the ground helpeth them much thereto. Their kine be great and good, and they eat a meat called Latimel or Forita. Their cheeſe is the beſt in the world, and alſo veals. Marignano is a pleaſant caſtle, but of no force; it ſtandeth upon the river of Olon. The Lords were received into their lodging very honourably, with ſhot, both great and ſmall. They were lodged in the houſe of the moſt noble Lodovico Veſtarino, then General of the camp in Piedmont in Novara. This Lodi ſtandeth upon a hill, very ſtrongly, and hath a caſtle in it of great force.

From Lodi to Piacenza, twenty miles; paſſing by a little pile where was ſhot off ordnance both great and ſmall; the Lords had a banquet in this pile; and after, paſſed the river of Po with boats; being all over the river, the Lords were received as before, and ſo paſſed by the town walls a long while ere ever they came to their lodgings. They being lodged in the houſe of Signior Franciſco Baratiero, in the ſtreet called Santo Nazaro (la Signora Hippolita ſua moglie. Signior Ceſare et Hercole ſuoi figliouli. Signior Alberico, Aleſſandero, et Camillo Baratiero nepoti del detto Franciſco Baratiero). This city is very ſtrong, and a caſtle of great force, but not fully finiſhed yet. This town did belong to the Church of Rome. Paulus Tertius being a Roman born, of the noble houſe of the Farneſi, and Pope, who willing to advance his own blood, created his ſon Peter Aliege Duke of Piacenza and Parma, who, for his cruelty and rigour towards his ſubjects, was ſlain in his own houſe; and becauſe he that did kill him was afraid of the Pope, the townſmen delivered their town into the Emperor's hands, the which he hath exempted unto the Dutchy of Milan. This Peter Aliege, the firſt Duke of Piacenza and Parma, married the baſe daughter of the French King, and had by her three ſons and one daughter; his daughter is married to the Duke of Urbine, and his eldeſt ſon named Octavio, is now Duke of Parma; the other two

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brethren be Cardinals, the one called Cardinal Farneſe, who is now Chancellor of Rome, and the other, Cardinal St. Angelo, they both being in great eſtimation with the Pope Paulus Quartus, that now is; ſo that it is thought that they will procure and ſtir up war againſt the Emperor, for recovery of Piacenza for the Duke of Parma. Here the Lords remained two days, the 20th and the 21ſt.

From Piacenza to Cremona, eighteen miles, where we paſſed over the river of Po. This city is great and rich, and payeth yearly to King Philip of Spain (now our King), without tax, fifty thouſand Crowns. There is an high ſteeple in the town, from whence this proverb ariſeth, "Una Torre in Cremona, uno Porto in Ancona." They make excellent good knives at Cremona. Being paſſed over the river Po, the Lords were received and feaſted as before. It is the leaſt city of the Dukedom of Milan, and is a great circuit about; a fair town, and rich of merchandiſe, but of no great force. It hath a notable caſtle in it. There is no ordnance in any town through the whole Dukedom, as we rode, but all in the caſtle as I could perceive. The Lords viewed this caſtle, but no Italian was ſuffered to go in with them, three or four of the chief only excepted, that did accompany them. At their going out, the caſtle ſhot off their ſmall and great pieces. We tarried here the 23d day. This day Il Conte Deſpeſiano Porzenno married the ſiſter of Signior Camillo Stanga, a very honeſt gentleman. Divers of the Lords Gentlemen were bidden thither by this young Count to dinner and ſupper, and there danced with the Ladies. This country and Dukedom is wonderful pleaſant, and ſo repleniſhed with corn, vines, fruit, paſture and meadow, all the ground being ſo level, and ſo well watered, that the like is not to be ſeen in any one country again, ſo long together. In this town is a notable ſtrong caſtle. The Lords viewed this caſtle, and at their coming out, there was ſtore of great and ſmall ſhot, to give the Lords an honourable farewel.

From Cremona to Caneto, twenty-two miles, through a town named Salra Terra, paſſing over the river Oglio by boat. This river parteth the Dukedom of Milane, and the Dukedom of Mantua; in this town the Lords lay at the Duke's charges. MARY. 1555.

From Caneto to Mantua, twenty miles; over the river of Chieſe, through a town called Aqua Negra, where we ſaw men whip themſelves with chains, going after a proceſſion. We paſſed through a town called Andadeſco, and by our Lady of Mantua her chapel, where is the greateſt offering in thoſe parts of Italy. There they ſhew pictures of men, which ſhe preſerved (as they ſay), that were ſtricken into brains and hearts, and in at the backs, with ſwords and daggers; and where is alſo ſuch wonderful works of wax, as I never ſaw the like again. Mantua is a notable ſtrong city, environed with great lakes and marſhes. The Duke met with the Lords in the city, and brought them to their lodgings, which was in an old palace of the Duke's. This Duke is very young, and looketh a little aſquint. Here the Lords were greatly feaſted at the Duke's charge. After ſupper, they went to the Court to deliver the Queen's letters, and there we ſaw the Duke's grandmother, his mother's ſiſter, the wife of Gonzaga, and his daughter, and one other lady called Hippolita, one of the faireſt ladies in the world. After compliments of ſalutation, the Lords had a banquet, in the which were green almonds, the firſt that ever I ſaw; we were brought into the Dutcheſs's jewel houſes, which exceeded in rich jewels, as agates, ſapphires, diamonds, an unicorn's horn, a tree of red coral an ell long; here we ſaw alſo a beaſt called the tyger.

From Mantua to Oſtia, twenty miles; over a bridge at Mantua, a quarter of a mile long, paſſing by the end of the river of Mewſe, which runneth into the river of Po, upon the which, this town ſtandeth. On the other ſide of the river ſtandeth a fair town of the Duke of Ferrara, called Renache.

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From Oſtia to Ferrara, thirty miles; riding twelve miles by the river Po, and then paſſed it in a boat, and dined that day in a poſt-houſe, being ten miles of this ſide of Ferrara. After dinner towards Ferrara, within two miles of it, an Earl of the country met with the Lords, and brought them within the city. Then the Prince met with them, and brought them to their lodgings, to a fair houſe of the Duke's, richly furniſhed and hanged. The pavements of the houſe were of ſuch curious works, of white marble, red, and black, that it is impoſſible to find fairer. The borders of the chambers and chimnies, of ſuch jaſper ſtone that they might be . There is alſo a cloſet, wherein are ſuch curious works of all kind of marble, and other ſtone, and all of the Duke's father's doings, as they cannot be mended. This city is very ſtrong, for they may drown the country round about them. The town walls are very thick, and the ramparts twenty-five yards broad. There be two caſtles in the city, the one in the midſt of the town, and the other ſtanding upon the river of Po, both of great ſtrength. The town ditch is one hundred yards over. There are three thouſand Jews in the city and above, having a temple and ſchool, after their own laws. They keep the Saturday for their Sabbath. Their market is kept upon the Sunday, with fiſh, herbs, and other things, till twelve o'clock at noon. Upon the Sunday they eat nothing but fiſh, and that which was dreſſed the day before; neither do they touch any money that day. Here the Ambaſſadors were honourably feaſted, at the Duke's charges, and lodged in his palace, the Prince keeping them company all the time; the Duke himſelf was at Rome at the conſecration of the Pope. The ſtreets of this town be very wide, and full of excellent good building: there was a camel in this town to be ſeen. That day before dinner, the Lords and Gentlemen being mounted upon the Duke's horſes, excellently well trimmed, the Prince and Gentlemen rode about one part of the wall, ſhewing them the commodities of the town. After dinner, they were brought about the other

part of the walls, where they ſaw ſuch wonderful pleaſures, and ſtrange things, that it was wonderful to behold; after the which, they had a very notable banquet; the heavenly noiſe that was there, as well with ſtrange inſtruments of muſic, as otherwiſe, I cannot declare. The truth is, our entertainment here, did far exceed the beſt entertainment the Lords had other where. The Duke's name is Hercules d'Eſté, and the other Prince his ſon, Alphonſo, who is as worthy a Prince as may be ſeen, and of as goodly a perſonage. Here we ſaw a tortoiſe a yard long and more, and half a yard broad. We met the Duke coming homewards to Ferrara, who, when he met the Lords, ſaluted them very lovingly, and ſaid, he was ſorry he was not at home, to make them better cheer. The Lords ſtaid at Ferrara the 26th day.

From Ferrara to St. Petro in Caſale, twenty miles; over the river of Po, riding about ſix miles within the Duke of Ferrara his liberties. After that, we came into the Pope's dominions, where the Vicelegate ſent a gentleman to provide for the Lords and their train at his charges. It is but a ſmall town, inſomuch that the train was diſperſed this night into three ſeveral places, ſome two miles, ſome three miles off, the lodgings there were ſo ſcant. Pope Marcellus Secundus was then alive.

From St. Petro to Bononia, ten miles, being met with ſeveral trains of Noblemen and Gentlemen, with trumpets and drums, and ſo brought into the town; but before we could recover the town gates, a mighty tempeſt of rain poured down upon us. At the gates of the town, the Vice Legate and the Biſhop of Bononia, with a great company of horſemen, met the Lords, and brought them to the Vice Legate's houſe, where they were lodged. Notwithſtanding this extreme ſhower of rain, the trumpeters ſtood over the gates of the Vice Legate's houſe, and blew a long time, until we were all alighted. And when the Ambaſſadors went to ſupper, there was excellent muſic of lower inſtruments. The next day being the firſt of May, there was in the morning brought in a brave May, with a number of

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About ten o'clock this forenoon, there was an officer brought in, according to the cuſtom of the town, who is, as it were, the Preſident of the Council there. There are twenty-four of the Council, whereof the Preſident is choſen at the end of twenty-four days, and entereth not into his office, till the end of forty-ſix days. You ſhall underſtand, that when he entereth into his office, he is fetched from his own houſe very honourably, by him that occupied the place before him, with all the reſt of the Council, as alſo with the Vice Legate's guard, and ſo brought into the palace, where he is put into a chamber, having but two men waiting upon him, and to abide there to the end of two months without coming out, and in all that time, neither his wife, his children, friends, nor ſervants may ſpeak with him. He is largely allowed for his diet, and keepeth a good table, being as well ſerved, as lodged, as if he were in his own houſe.

The ſecond day a poſt came from Rome, that brought the Lords word, of the death of Pope Marcellus Secundus, and that he died the laſt of April. A ſight of worſhipful relicks to be ſeen in Bononia. The body of St. Dominick, the body of St. Rutherin, and a piece of the crown of thorns, wherewith Chriſt was crowned. To this town cometh a ſmall river called Rheno; the town is great, and hath thirteen gates in it. It is fair built, and with ſuch vaults, that in the greateſt rain and fouleſt weather, men go dry, and are alſo defended from the heat of the ſun. The Vice Legate is Biſhop of and hath a guard of Launceknights * well appointed for his guard; other ſoldiers there be none in the town, except when it is Sedia Vacante, (that is to ſay) when there is no Pope. The Pope being dead, ten of the gates are kept ſhut, and eight hundred ſoldiers appointed, to watch and ward, in divers places of the town; for at that time miſdoers and offenders think themſelves without a

* German Infantry;—the proper term is *Landſknecht*, from whence the French *Lanſquenet*, and our Engliſh corruption of the word, as in the text.

law.

law. As for example, when Julius Tertius died, there came a baniſhed man to the city with four hundred ſoldiers, and to have done much miſchief there. He was let into the town, himſelf taken and beheaded, and all his men taken and ſlain. The Lords were very greatly feaſted at the Pope's charges all the time they lay in Bononia, and ſo were they invited to Noblemen's houſes of the city, and were greatly entertained by them. Two noblemen of the town (Rillades and Mallvachall) were at deadly war. We remained at Bononia thirteen days together. MARY. 1555. Bologna.

From Bononia to Imola, twenty miles; over the river of Quaderno leaving St. Pietro, a town on our right hand, which hath a caſtle in it, but of no great ſtrength. The Lords, viz. the Biſhop of Ely, and Lord Montagu, they took their journey to ſee Fiorenza. Dr. Kearne, the Leger Ambaſſador from Rome, he with all the carriage, and the greateſt part of the train, departed from the Lords, and took his journey through la Romagna, to Rome.

From Imola to Faenza, ten miles; over the river Amone, which keepeth no certain courſe, but ſometimes very great, another time very ſmall, paſſing the caſtle Bologneſe, an old walled town. The Lords of the town met my Lord Ambaſſador two miles without the town, and brought him to the Pope's palace, where he was lodged, with trumpets and drums before him. The town defrayed him, and all the train, at their charges. The commodity and profit of this town ſtandeth by making of cotton, and making many ſundry things in fine mell and earth *.

From Faenza to Forli, ten miles; being met without the town as before, and lodged in the palace at the town's charge. In the market place, when the Ambaſſador came unto it, there were harquebuſſes of crocke, and other ſhot, diſcharged. There is a very ſtrong caſtle in the town, ſtanding upon the river of Montone, the which cometh from the mountains. The caſtle hath great lodgings in it,

* Earthen ware called *Fayence* in French, as being made at Faenza. The word *mell*, means enamell. See Dict. de Trevoux, *mail & email.*

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and ſtore of great ordnance. It was built by Julius Cæſar, and is called after his name, Caſtello Julio.

From Forli to Ceſena, ten miles; paſſing over the river Ronco with a boat, and by a caſtle named Framole, leaving a ſtrong town ſtanding on the right hand upon the ſide of a hill, with a caſtle on the top of it called Bartinore. The Leger Ambaſſador was received into this town as before, and lodged at the palace at the town's charges. There is a caſtle in this town, ſituated upon a hill adjoining to the palace: there cometh a river called Rubicon: the boys of the town being a great number, met my Lord Ambaſſador without the town gate, crying Viva Inghilterra (as much as to ſay) God ſave England; every one of them brought an olive branch in their hands.

From Ceſena to Rimino, twenty miles; leaving a town called Archangelo on the right hand. Here the Ambaſſador was received and lodged as before, at the palace, at the charge of the town. It ſtandeth upon the ſea named Il Golpho di Venetia, and hath a ſmall haven pertaining unto it; the town itſelf is of no force, but the caſtle in it is very ſtrong.

From Rimino to Peſaro, the chiefeſt town of the Dukedom of Urbino, twenty miles. The young Prince (the Duke of Urbin's ſon) was determined to have met the Ambaſſador, but being prevented by his ſudden coming, he met with him at the ſtairs feet in the hall, and then received him very honourably, and brought him up to his lodging, which was very richly hanged, and there we were notably feaſted, all at the Duke's charges. After dinner, the Dutcheſs his mother ſent for all the Gentlemen of our train, into a withdrawing chamber, where we found her ſitting in a rich chair, the Prince her ſon ſtanding by her, and a great number of Ladies and Gentlewomen ſitting about her. After we had all humbly done our duty unto her Grace, as many of us as could ſpeak Italian, or French, went to entertain theſe Ladies and Gentlewomen. The reſt of us, that had no language to entertain them with, yet ſat down amongſt them,

them, to behold (as *ſpectatores formarum*) the glory of their ſurpaſſing beauties. This heavenly and angelic troop of Ladies being thus accommodated, and we greatly graced by their honourable preſence, on the ſudden they were preſented with the muſic of the virginals, lute and viol. Then the young Prince took one of his play-fellows by the hand, and danced the *paven* with him, and afterwards a galliard; which being ended, the Prince entreated our Gentlemen that could dance, to take out a Lady or Gentlewoman to dance withal, and ſo they did. The dancing ended, we departed out of the chamber, and there left the Dutcheſs with the Ladies. This young Prince is not paſt ten years of age, but he is well favoured, and excellently made in all his parts of his body. The town is not ſtrong, but yet wanting no ordnance; of ſmall circuit, but very well built, and paved with brick throughout. It ſtandeth upon the forenamed ſea, having a pretty haven, and a pleaſant country joining unto it.

From Peſaro to Foſſembrone, twenty-ſix miles, leaving Fano, a fair town on the left hand, by the ſea-ſide. The Ambaſſador was lodged at the Duke's palace, and there defrayed by the Duke. The town ſtandeth betwixt the mountains. Betwixt Fano and Foſſembrone, there runneth a river caled Il Metro, where is a goodly plain, and there was a great battle fought betwixt the Romans and the Africans, where were ſlain 53,000 Africans, and 9000 Romans.

From Foſſembrone to Cantiano, twenty miles, through a park of the Duke's, with fallow deer in it, three miles from Foſſembrone, which was the firſt park we ſaw in all Italy before: from the park to Furlo, two miles, paſſing through a rock ſmoothly cut out, and cloſe over our heads, made by man's hand, for Hannibal to bring his army that way againſt Scipio Africanus; ſo to Acqualagna, and thence to Caglie, through the town, and ſo to Cantiano, all the way of an huge height, between mountains and rock, twenty miles. This town is but little, ſtanding amongſt the mountains, here all our charges were defrayed by the Duke.

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From Cantiano to Sigillo, twelve miles, over great mountains, paſſing by Schiecoia, the laſt town of the Duke of Urbine's, two miles from Sigillo. This town is the Pope's, there we tarried the 23d and 24th day.

From Sigillo to Perugia, twenty-two miles, very ill and dangerous way. Here the Lords met all three together again. The Pope's Vice-Legate there, more for ſhame than for any good-will he bare to the Lords, met them without the town gates, and brought them to the abby of St. Auguſtine's without the town, where they were lodged. The town is very great, and hath a marvellous ſtrong caſtle in it, built by Pope Paulus Tertius. The people be all French in their hearts. For three nights together fires were made, as well upon the walls of the caſtle, as in other places in the town, only for joy of a new Pope * Paulus Quartus. The great pieces of ordnance, and ſmall ſhot, ſhot off, brave and great fireworks beſides in the air. The cauſe of this their great joy was ſuppoſed to be, becauſe the Pope was French in heart, and enemy to the emperor, notwithſtanding he was a Neopolitan before born. Here we remained the 26th day: on this day all the trumpeters and drummers came to viſit the Lords, and began to play; but anſwer was ſent from the Lords, that with what friendſhip they were received and lodged, with the like they ſhould receive their reward. Then they departed in great ſpite and anger, ſtriking upon their drum heads as hard as they could lay on, they being twelve drums in number. That day, at five o'clock at night, the Vice Legate ſent a preſent to the Lords, viz. three dozen and a half of capons, ſix dozen of rabbets, fifteen weathers and lambs, a veal, and thirty-two ſacks of barley, and oats for their horſes; but foraſmuch as it was known to the Lords that the Legate had intelligence of their departure the next morning following, and conſidering how ungenteelly they had been uſed before, they refuſed the preſent, rendering few thanks. This evening, the Vice Legate ſent the ſoldiers

* Caraffa.

of the town, being ſix hundred, marching in rank to the Lords lodging, and there to honour them; they gave three ſeveral vollies of ſhot, and ſo departed, without reward given them. MARY. 1555.

Here we ſaw a ſpecial relick forſooth of our Lady's, a ring, the firſt (they ſtick not to ſay) that ever ſhe did wear, which is not ſhewed, I tell you, without great ceremony. This ring is a great ring, all of black horn, and hangeth in a pix within a tabernacle, being clad with two or three fold of lawn: that is ſeen in myſtery as all other relicks be. When it is ſhewed to any body, there is a wonderful much bleſſing, kiſſing, kneeling and knocking; and upon either ſide of the tabernacle is a great baſon, in the which two or three children of five or ſix years old, do ſit, and are let down in the baſon; then the ring is to be ſhewed to any body. They make us believe forſooth, that theſe children are not by meat or drink, but are marvelouſly fed by the Holy Ghoſt.

From Perugia to Foligni, eighteen miles; leaving a town on our left hand, called Aſſiſi. There was a great market fair at that time we were there. The town of Foligni ſtandeth in a fair plain, having great mountains on both ſides of it.

From Foligni to Spoleto, twelve miles, leaving a town named Trevi on the left hand. Spoleto hath a caſtle in it, ſtanding upon a hill, which commandeth the town and the people. Here the Lords remained five days, even till the third of June, on which day they went from thence.

The 29th, the Lords received letters out of England, dated the 14th of May. This town ſtandeth between the mountains, as far eaſt as can be travelled that way. The Cardinal of Perugia is Governor of this town. The people are very proud and beggarly, and of no civility; great boaſters, but of no activity; and much given to ſecret murther, and privy ſ——y. The villany is ſuch, and they ſo much born and maintained in it, that a boy being, as they term it, diſhonoured

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noured by his like, he will ever after ſeek the death of his diſhonourer. As for example, at our being in the town, two ſchool boys, one of them bearing malice to the other, coming into the ſchool, and finding there the other boy his enemy, that had diſhonoured him, he ſuddenly caſt a ball of lead at him, and hit him over the head, that he amazed him, and having brought a dagger, he ſtabbed the boy to the heart, ſo that he died: the fact was not unpuniſhed, as I did learn afterwards of certain. O what good juſtice is executed in this town, and offenders puniſhed to the uttermoſt, as ye may hear, to the good example of other!

From Spoleto to Narni, eighteen miles; through a town named Terni, twelve miles on the way. A mile without the town, the Biſhop of Sullino met the Lords with four hundred ſoldiers, who was ſent of purpoſe to bring them to the place where they ſhould dine, at the Pope's charge; there the ſoldiers blew off their pieces and departed. After dinner the Lords were brought out of the town in the like manner as they were received into it. The river of Nera runneth on the ſouth ſide of the town. This town is well ſtored with great ordnance and ſmall ſhot; the caſtle in it ſtandeth upon a very high hill, and the town upon the ſide of a hill, and a goodly plain on the one ſide, and great mountains on the other ſide. When we came near to Narni, the Legate met the Lords a mile without the town, as before, and brought them to their lodgings, lying at the Pope's charges, and had a preſent ſent them from the Legate of the town. In the time of *ſedia vacante*, which is when there is no Pope, Narni and Terni be at great wars together.

From Narni to Rignano, twenty miles, paſſing over the river of Tyber with a boat, to a town named Borgetto, where the Lords dined at the Pope's charges. The Lords train were lodged in field inns, and could not be ſuffered to come within the town gates; but the reaſon of it, I could never yet learn.

From

From Rignano to Rome, twenty-two miles; paſſing through a town called Caſtello Novo, eight miles from Rignano, and ſo forth to La Prima Porta 7. M. where the Lords dined at the Pope's charges, and thence to Rome, being ſeven miles. This Prima Porta, hath the name of the firſt old gate in Rome, when Rome flouriſhed, as appeareth by the old ruins of the walls. After dinner, within a mile of Rome, we paſſed over a bridge called Ponte Mole, over the river of Tyber, and rode to a houſe without the city, which Pope Julius Tertius built, where the Lords reſted themſelves, and had a banquet. This houſe is of an excellent building, and hath ſuch a notable commodity in it, all of which marble, ſo curiouſly wrought, ſo repleniſhed with ſtrange fruits, and furniſhed with antiquities, that be daily digged up in the ruins of old Rome, and ſome found in the river of Tyber, in ſuch ſort, that it doth far exceed all the buildings that ever I ſaw, except the Charter Houſe beſide Pavia. Amongſt which antiquities there are two marble pillars, of ſuch mixture of colours, white and black, being five cubits long, and a yard about in the greateſt part, which two pillars, Pope Julius Tertius would not have given for one million of gold, and are of many men eſteemed at a 100,000 crowns. After that the Lords had reſted themſelves in this vineyard three or four hours, there came now one nobleman, then another, and ſometimes five or ſix together, ſo that there were ſixteen Biſhops. The Cardinals they ſent their pledges, riding upon their mules, having their maſter's hanging behind them on their backs, their mules being bravely furniſhed, and they were in number thirty-five. The Pope ſent alſo the officers of his Court, to bring in the Lords into the city, beſides his guard to wait upon them: and laſt of all came a Biſhop that repreſented the Pope's Holineſs, who was accordingly honoured of the Lords: ſo about ſix o'clock at night, the Lords were brought into Rome in very good order, and ſo conveyed to their lodgings, with trumpets and drums before them, in a fair palace, having in train 1000 horſes and

mules,

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mules, where Cardinal Pigio lay, which rented of the D. of Parma, and removed himſelf, leaving it unto the Lords. Here the Lords lay at their own charges. This palace was of old time the bath or thermes of Julius Cæſar, as in William Thomas's book of the deſcription of Italy ye may read of thermes and baths *.

The two former Popes, Julius Tertius, and Marcellus Secundus, had made great proviſion for the Lords in the palace of St. Mark; the which proviſion this new-created Pope, Paulus Quartus, did ſpend and eat himſelf. The eighth day at night, the Lords were ſent for, and had ſecret audience, but no Engliſhman ſuffered to come into the chamber. The 9th day in the morning, Cardinal Caraffa, the Pope's Nephew, newly made Cardinal on the 7th day, ſent the Lords a preſent, three veals, three great Parmeſan cheeſes made in Rome, three dozen of capons and chickens, fifty-two ſpades of bacon, and torches of virgin's wax, twenty-four pounds of candles of virgin's wax, ten ſugar loaves, ſix tons of wine, fifty quarters of barley, and oats for their horſes.

The 10th day, the Lords went to the Court, accompanied with divers Biſhops, Noblemen and Gentlemen, and there had open audience. As they paſſed by the caſtle of St. Angelo, the Lords were ſaluted with a great peal of ordnance.

The Pope ſat in a conclave, where he was choſen, in a great high chair, having a very rich cope upon him, and a mitre of a wonderful price upon his head. The place where he ſat was railed in, that the people might not come and trouble the Orator. The Cardinals ſat in benches, within the rails, round about the Pope's Holineſs; the Biſhop underneath them, and the Pope's ſervants lay upon the ground. After my Lord my Maſter, the Lord Biſhop of Ely †, had ended his oration made to the Pope, then all the Engliſhmen of the Lords train were called for, and let come within the rails, to kiſs the Pope's

* The Editor has ſeen this deſcription, which is very inferior to later accounts, and curious only as the hint.

† Dr. Thirlby.

Holineſs's

Holineſs's foot, who had a crimſon velvet ſlipper on, that had a croſs of ſilver laid upon it. That done, the Pope bleſſed them, and ſo they departed ſanctified.

The 11th day, the Lords invited divers Cardinals, and at the Cardinal of Piſa's houſe, I ſaw a live oſtrich, and plucked a white feather from it.

The 12th day in the morning, the Lords heard a dirge maſs, at the Spaniſh church, for the Emperor's mother, where we had every one of us a taper given us, to hold all maſs time in our hands. This day dined with the Cardinal Caraffa, at a place called Belvedere, as much as to ſay, fair to look on, ſo called, becauſe it ſtandeth in ſo good an air, and hath the moſt pleaſant proſpects of all the palaces which are in Rome. After dinner, the Lords went to viſit other Cardinals which lay in the Pope's Court, and ſo went up to the chamber of preſence, to wait upon the Pope, that came out to even-ſong. When they came firſt into the preſence, they found but one Cardinal there, who very curiouſly entertained them. Afterwards there came two of the Cardinals together, and ſometimes three, and ſo came till they made the number of thirty: and ever as they came over the bridge of St. Angelo, whether it were one, two, or three Cardinals together, ſo many as they were, ſo many pieces of ordnance were ſhot off the caſtle for an hour. That the Pope is bound to obſerve to his well beloved brethren, whenſoever they paſs the bridge, whether they come to the Court or no. Alſo, as the Cardinals do come to the outer gates of the Pope's palace, a drum and fife do give warning of their coming. Within half an hour after the Cardinals were come into the preſence chamber, there came the Pope's Holineſs out of his privy chamber among them. They all riſing up at the ſight of him, bowed themſelves, ducking friar faſhion, and the Pope likewiſe to them again. Then he being led by two Cardinals to a little ſide table in the chamber, they both did help him to put on his robes, pertaining to his Holineſs. His robes being put on him, he went on this manner

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towards the chapel to Even-ſong, attended upon as followeth: Firſt, the officers of his houſhold, being a great number, before him, all in ſcarlet gowns. After them followed two, carrying each of them a mitre, and two officers next them with ſilver rods in their hands. Then the Cardinals having a croſs borne before them, and every Cardinal his ſeveral pillar borne next before himſelf. After them cometh the Pope's Holineſs in a chair of crimſon velvet, wrought with gold, having ſixteen more ſpare men waiting upon the chair. Thus going to the chapel, two ſervants going before him, crying ſtill Abaſſo, Abaſſo (which is to ſay, kneel down, Maſters), he ſitting, bleſſing all the way as he went to Even-ſong; which being done, the Pope returned, in like manner, to his chamber again.

The next day, being the 13th, his Holineſs went through St. Peter's church to Maſs, to the chapel of St. Peter, in like manner as before, ſaving that he had two triple crowns borne before him, of an ineſtimable value, which he had not before. So Maſs being ſaid, he went in proceſſion, in this order following: Firſt, went the Friars, and every pariſh by themſelves with their croſs, all having white torches in their hands. Next to them followed the Pope's officers all in ſcarlet gowns and black velvet coats; then the Prieſts and ſinging men of the Pope's chapel; then Biſhops, to the number of fifty-eight, all of them having mitres of white linen cloth on their heads, and copes on their backs. After them followed the Cardinals, having mitres of white damaſk, and tunicles upon their backs, with their croſſes and pillars borne before them, as above ſaid. Then came the Pope's Holineſs, and next before him went the guard, being a great number, the Pope being carried in his chair as before mentioned, having a little table before him, whereupon ſtood the ſacrament, and two men going before him with great broad fans made of peacocks tails, to keep the ſun and flies from his holy face. The moſt part of his Cardinals had alſo the like fans before them. After the Pope, followed a troop of light horſemen, to the number of

of ſixty-four, well armed and appointed. And thus was the order of the Pope's going in proceſſion. Now, at the Pope's ſetting out of the gates of his palace with the proceſſion, all the Pope's trumpeters ſtood there and ſounded. Then was there a warning piece ſhot off to the caſtle of St. Angelo, whereupon the caſtle gave a great peal of ordnance, which continued a long time.

To write any thing of the antiquities of Rome, I thought it needleſs, conſidering they are truly and notably ſet forth in William Thomas's book, of the Deſcription of Italy. We remained at Rome fourteen days.

The ſixteenth day the Lords dined and ſupped with the Pope at the palace of St. Mark. After dinner they went to viſit the Cardinals they had not ſpoken with before, and the ſame night they took their leave of the Pope, who gave my Lord Montague a table diamond, with a ring, eſteemed at 2000 crowns; and my Lord of Ely my maſter, a croſs of gold. They made great bonfires in Rome, becauſe we were reconciled to the church of Rome, and the caſtle ſhot off much ordnance. We ſaw a world of relicks, very ridiculous and incredible, viz. the picture of Chriſt, called La Sudaria, lively as he was upon the earth. One of the nails that Chriſt was nailed with to the croſs. The ſtairs Chriſt went up on going to be examined and judged of Pilate; upon which ſtairs he had a fall; and with his elbow, to ſave himſelf, he made a great hole in the ſtairs, the which is covered over with a grate of ſilver; unto the which there is made a great offering. The table that Chriſt made his laſt ſupper upon with his diſciples. The crown of thorns wherewith Chriſt was crowned, upon the croſs, *cum multis aliis quæ perſcribere longum eſt.*

Note here, the whole number of miles from London to Rome. Accounting the leagues in France two Engliſh miles a league, and thoſe in Savoy and Piedmont, at three every league, though ſome miles in Savoy be more; yet becauſe the Italian miles be ſhorter

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than the Engliſh, I let them borrow of the leagues in Savoy, accounting all as Engliſh miles; by which account, all together make up one thouſand one hundred and fifty-eight miles.

The End of our Journey to Rome.

Our Journey from Rome, through Germany, and ſo to London.

FROM Rome to Rignano, twenty miles. From Rignano to Narni, twenty miles. From Narni to Spoleto, eighteen miles. From Spoleto to Foligni, twelve miles. From Foligni to Sigillo, twenty-four miles; to Nocera to dinner, twelve miles. From Sigillo to Urbino, twenty-two miles; and to Caglie to dinner, ſeventeen miles.

This town is the principal town of the Duke's, and ſtandeth upon the top of a high hill, but of no great ſtrength. The Duke was in the town at our coming thither.

There we ſaw Polydore Virgilius' grave, who died not paſſing a month before we came thither. Here they all remained one day, which was the 26th.

From Urbino to Rimino, twenty-four miles, calling at Montefiore, to dinner, twelve miles. From Rimino to Ceſena, twenty miles. From Ceſena to Imola, thirty miles. From Imola to Bononia, twenty miles; where we ſtaid the firſt day of July. From Bononia to Crocetta, fourteen miles, by a caſtle named St. Zunan, of great force, and well watered. From Crocetta to Concordia, twenty-five miles, paſſing over the river of Panaro upon a bridge in a little village called Bonporto, riding a long time the river of Secchia, which cometh to this town, and meeteth the Po ten miles from Concordia. This town belongeth to the Principality of Mirandula, and was burnt three years paſt by the Pope Julius, with others for diſpleaſure.

From

From Concordia to Mantua, twenty-two miles, paſſing the river of Secchia, riding through a town called St. Benedetto, where we paſſed the river of Po. There we inned at the Black Morian.

The Duke of Mantua his revenue by year, was but one thouſand ducats, but afterwards the Duke his father increaſed it thirty thouſand ducats more, by marriage with a Nobleman's daughter in Italy, an heireſs. The Duke that is now, was but the ſecond brother. He is very uncomely of perſon, ſquint-eyed, crook-backed, and but fifteen years old.

His elder brother was drowned by misfortune, being a fiſhing in a boat, in the lake that is about the town. The third brother was put to the King's Court to learn French; but the French King will no more let him come home as yet; ſome think he will marry to one of his daughters, that after the deceaſe of the Duke his brother, he being the next heir, might enjoy the Dukedom of Mantua. The fourth brother is a Biſhop. The Duke's uncle being Cardinal of Mantua, is Governor of this town. Here I ſaw a mill to wind ſilk, which was a notable piece of work.

From Mantua to Boſolingo, twenty-two miles, through a town called Villa Franca, a ſtreight, by which they muſt paſs that come from Mantua to Venice by land, or from Mantua to Trent; in the which ſtreight are ſuch exceptions as I have not known before; for no man can paſs that way, but he muſt pay the value of an Engliſh penny, and yet is it not gathered for the repairing of an high-way or bridges. There be two men that farm this ſtreight of the Venetians yearly, for one hundred and fifty crowns. By this town runneth the river of Adige, the ſwifteſt river that ever I ſaw, which falleth into the gulph of Venice.

From Boſolingo to Paw, twenty-two miles, paſſing over the river of Adige, and riding through two towns, Sereigne and Bergetto, ſtanding both between mountains, upon the river of Adige. At Sereigne is a ſtreight called La Chiuſa, having notable rocks on the one ſide of

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of it, and the river on the other ſide, being well fortified with ordnance and munition, as the Venetians have all their ports for the moſt part, ſo that there is very hard paſſage without licence. Theſe two towns Bergetto and Paw, belong to the King of the Romans. The Cardinal of Trent is Governor of them.

From Paw to Trent, twenty-two miles, riding all the way by the river of Adige, and between mountains, paſſing through a goodly town of the King of the Romans, called Roveredo, where we dined at the ſign of the Star. It hath in it a very ſtrong caſtle ſtanding upon a rock. Trent ſtandeth upon the river of Adige, but it is of no force, neither great, nor much fair building in it, his own palace or caſtle excepted, which is wonderful beautiful, and very richly furniſhed. The Cardinal is abſolute Lord and Governor of the town; he hath a guard of fifty men to wait upon him, beſides a great number of gentlemen and other ſervitors. He is a Dutchman born, and cometh of a very noble houſe; but in his houſe-keeping he ſheweth himſelf an Italian, to keep bare cheer, and a mean table; notwithſtanding this Cardinal is more honourably ſerved in his houſe, for the cheer he keepeth, than any other that I have ſeen, and is very rich. I ſaw two oſtriches at his houſe, the one ruſſet, the other black. Here we ſaw a child, whom the Jews had martyred many years paſt, all his body pricked with needles. We inned at the ſign of the Roſe, and remained there three days, the 8th, 9th, and 10th.

The reſt of the journey homewards is omitted as not material.

No. VI.

Letters concerning Calais.

[Queen Mary ſaid, during her laſt illneſs, that after ſhe was dead, they would find Calais lying at her heart.—It appears from the papers contained in this article, which have been thought to deſerve publication, that the loſs of it, which happened ſoon after, was owing to the negligence of her Council, in not ſupplying that place and Guiſnes, with ſufficient garriſons and ammunition.]

The Council of Calais to the Queen.

1557. May 23.

IT may pleaſe your Highneſs to underſtand. That where, upon circumſpect conſideration and view of your Majeſty's ſtore here of munition and other habiliments for war, there is preſently found not only a great want in many kinds thereof, but alſo ſuch a decay in divers other things, as the ſame are not ſerviceable, and will be utterly loſt if they be not with ſpeed repaired and put in better eſtate; as this bearer, Mr. Highfield, maſter of your ordnance here, can declare more amply the particularities thereof, either unto your Majeſty, or unto ſuch of your Council, as ſhall pleaſe your Highneſs to direct him; we have thought it our bounden duties to be moſt humble ſuitors unto your Majeſty, that it would pleaſe the ſame to give immediate order, as well for the ſupplement of the ſaid lacks, as alſo for your warrant to be addreſſed hither, for the repairing of all other things requiſite to be done within his office.

And thus we continually pray Almighty God for the long preſervation of your Highneſs in moſt proſperous eſtate. From your town of Calais the 23d of May 1557.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

1557. Decemb. 27.

Lord Wentworth, Lord Grey, &c. to the Queen.

OUR bounden duties moſt humbly remembered unto your Highneſs; Upon the receipt of the intelligences ſent unto your Majeſty this other day, from me your Grace's deputy, I forthwith diſpatched to my Lord Grey, requiring his Lordſhip to repair to this town, that we might together conſult of the ſtate of your Highneſs's places and country on this ſide. So his Lordſhip coming hither, we have conferred together our ſeveral intelligences, and finding the ſame in effect to agree, it hath very much augmented our ſuſpicion, that this train now meant by the enemy ſhould be made towards your Highneſs's country or places. Whereupon we all together have conſidered the ſtate of the ſame, and ſaid our opinions therein, as it may appear unto your Highneſs by theſe articles we ſend herewith to your Majeſty, which we have thought our duties to ſignify unto you. Moſt humbly beſeeching your Highneſs to return unto us your pleaſure therein. So we pray Jeſu grant your Majeſty long and proſperous reign. At your town of Calais, 27th Dec. 1557.

Your Highneſs's, &c.

Our Conſultation made the 27th Decem. 1557.

FIRST, Having no ſupplement of men other than is preſently there, we think it meeteſt, if the enemy ſhould give the attempt, to abandon the town (which could not be without very great danger of the caſtle), and defend the turnpike, which is of the more importance, becauſe that way only, in neceſſity, the relief to the caſtle is to be looked for.

Item, There is great want of wheat, butter, cheeſe, and other victuals.

Item,

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Item, It is requiſite to have ſome men of eſtimation and ſervice to be there, that might be able to take the charge in hand, if either ſickneſs or other accident ſhould fortune to me the Lord Grey; which I the ſaid Lord Grey the rather require by reaſon of Sir Henry Palmer's hurt, being of any other perſon at this preſent utterly unfurniſhed.

HAMPNES CASTLE.

Item, We think the ſame ſufficiently furniſhed of men for the ſudden; albeit, this hard and froſty weather, if it continue, will give the enemy great advantage, yet we put in as much water as is poſſible.

Of victuals, that place is utterly unprovided, except the Captain's ſtore.

It is alſo thought meet to have there ſome man of eſtimation and ſervice, for the reſpects contained in the article of Guiſnes, which alſo the Lord Dudley requires.

NEWNAMBRIDGE.

Item, We think it meet, upon the occaſion to withdraw the bands from the Cauſeway thither; and then are of opinion, the ſame to be ſufficient to defend that place for a ſeaſon, unleſs the enemy ſhall get between this town and the bridge.

It is clean without victuals other than the Captain's own proviſion.

RYSBANK.

Becauſe that place ſtandeth upon the ſea, and by the ſhore ſide may the enemy come in a night to it, we think it meet to appoint thither a band of the low country under the leading of Capt. Dodd. It is altogether unfurniſhed of victuals, other than for the Captain's own ſtore.

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CALAIS.

Whereas all your Majeſty's places on this ſide make account to be furniſhed of victuals and other neceſſaries from hence; it is ſo, that of victuals your Highneſs hath preſently none here, and alſo this town hath none, by reaſon that the reſtraint in the realm hath been ſo ſtrait, as the victuallers as were wont to bring daily hither good quantities of butter, cheeſe, bacon, wheat, and other things, might not of late be ſuffered to have any recourſe hither, whereby is grown a very great ſcarcity of all ſuch things here.

Finally, foraſmuch as all the wealth and ſubſtance of your Majeſty's whole dominion on this ſide, is now in your low country, a thing not unknown to the enemy, and if with this his great power coming down (as the bruit goeth), for the victualling of Arde, he will give attempt upon your Highneſs's country, we do not ſee that the ſmall number here (in reſpect of their force) can by any means defend it. And if we ſhould ſtand to reſiſt their entry into the country, and there receive any loſs or overthrow, the country ſhould nevertheleſs be overrun and ſpoiled, and beſides it would ſet the enemy in a glory, and alſo be the more peril to your Highneſs's places. We therefore upon the neceſſity, think it meet to gather all our men into ſtrengths, and with the ſame to defend your places to the uttermoſt; notwithſtanding all the power on this ſide is far inſufficient to defend the places, in caſe the enemy ſhall tarry any ſpace in the field.

WENTWORTH, GREY, &c.

MARY.
1557-8.
January 1.

The Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Calais, to the Queen.

IT may pleaſe your Highneſs. Having retired the Bands from the Cauſeway the laſt night, and placed them at the bridge, and within the brayes; this morning early I returned them to the ſaid Cauſeway, to defend that paſſage in caſe the enemy would attempt to enter there, and alſo to offer ſkirmiſh to take ſome of them, and to learn ſomewhat of their power. Between nine and ten the enemy ſhowed in a very great bravery about ſix enſigns of footmen, and certain horſemen, and came from the chaulk pitts down the hill towards the cauſeway. Whereupon ſome of ours iſſued and offered the ſkirmiſh, but the enemy would in no wiſe ſeem to meddle. During this their ſtillneſs, they cauſed about two hundred Harquebuſiers to cut over the marſhes from Sandgate, and get between ours and the bridge, and then to have hotly ſet on them on both ſides. In this time alſo, at a venture, I had cauſed your Majeſty's Marſhall with the horſemen to go abroad, and maintain the ſkirmiſh with the footmen, and by that the Marſhall came there, the enemy's Harquebuſiers that paſſed the marſhes were diſcovered, and ours ſuddenly took a very honeſt retire, which the enemies on the land ſide perceiving, came on, both horſemen and footmen, marvellous hotly; to whom ours gave divers onſets, continually ſkirmiſhing till they came to the bridge, and there repoſed themſelves. The bridge beſtowed divers ſhot upon the enemy, and hurt ſome. Of ours, thanked be God, none ſlain nor hurt, but a man at arms ſtricken in the leg with a currior. The alarm continued till one o'clock in the afternoon, before the end whereof our enemy's number increaſed; for eleven enſigns more of footmen came in ſight, and three troops of horſemen; beſides, the alarm went round about our country at that inſtant, even from Sandgate to Guiſnes, and bands of the enemy at

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every paſſage. They have gotten Froyton church, and plant themſelves at all the ſtreights into this country. The bulwarks of Froyton and Neſle have this day done their duty very well, to whom I have this afternoon ſent aid of men, and ſome ſhot and powder. Howbeit I am in ſome doubt of Neſle this night.

I am perfectly advertiſed their number of horſemen and footmen already arrived, is above 12,000, whereof little leſs have come in ſight here. The Duke of Guiſe is not yet arrived, but hourly looked for with a more number. This evening I have diſcovered five hundred waggons laden with victual and munition, and have further perfect intelligence, that thirty cannons be departed from Boulogne hitherwards. They are ſettled at Sandgate, Galley Moat, Cauſeway, Froyton, Calkewell, Neſle, and Syntrecaſe. At one o'clock after midnight, I look for them, being low water at the paſſage over the haven. Thus having ſet all things in the beſt order I can, I make an end of three days work, and leave your Majeſty to conſider for our ſpeedy ſuccour. Beſeeching God to grant your Highneſs victory, with long and proſperous reign. At your town of Calais, this New Year's Day, at nine in the night, 1557.

I have received your Majeſty's letter by the Maſter of the Ordnance, who came in this morning. The contents whereof I will follow as near as I can.

Your Highneſs's moſt
humble and obedient
ſervant and ſubject,
WENTWORTH.

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Lord Wentworth to the Queen.

January 2.

AFTER my humble duty remembered, it may pleaſe your Highneſs, this laſt night our enemies lay ſtill, without any thing attempting in the places mentioned in my laſt letters, as we did well perceive during the whole night, by great fires made in the ſame places.

This morning early, I put out freſh footmen to the bridge, to relieve the watched men. About nine o'clock, the enemies in very great number approached the bridge, and offered the ſkirmiſh; whereupon iſſued out ſome of our Harquebuſiers and Bowmen, and kept them in play, with the help of the ſhot from the bridge, more than an hour; and in the end, being overmatched with multitude, made their retire within the turnpike without any loſs or hurt. The enemies ſhadowing themſelves under the turnpike wall, with their curriors (which aſſuredly ſhot very great bullets, and carry far) kept themſelves in ſuch ſurety, as our pieces of the bridge could not annoy them, till at eleven o'clock, certain of ours bored holes with auger through the turnpike, and with harquebuſſes beat them out into the ſhot of ordnance, and ſo made them retire to the Cauſeway.

This forenoon certain Swiſſes and Frenchmen, to the number of five hundred, got within the marſhes between Froyton and Neſle bulwarks; and the men of the bulwarks ſeeing themſelves to be compaſſed on all ſides, and ſeeing alſo that time yet ſerved them well to depart, and fearing they ſhould not ſo do, if they tarried till they were aſſailed on both ſides (as they could not indeed) forſook their bulwarks, and right manfully, notwithſtanding the enemies between them and home, ſaved themſelves through the marſhes. In the

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retire of the enemies, one Cookſon, a man at arms, and few other ſoldiers, with the countrymen, reſcued moſt part of the booty (which was certain kine) and took three priſoners of the Captain of Abbeville's band. The report of this enterprize of the enemy being brought to me, fearing Colham Hill, I forthwith appointed your Majeſty's Marſhal with the Horſemen, and two hundred footmen, to repair thither, and as they ſhould ſee their match, ſo to demean themſelves. Ere theſe men had marched a quarter of a mile, the enemies were retired out of the country, upon occaſion, that wading as they entered in up to the girdle ſtead, and perceiving the water to increaſe, thought good to make a ſpeedy return: and nevertheleſs, for all their haſte, went up to the breaſt, and if they had tarried a little longer, I had put in ſo much water, as I think would have put them over head and ears; and God willing, at the next tide I will take in more. This afternoon they have been quiet, and we the mean time be occupied in cutting up of paſſages to let in more water about the bridge, and that part of the marſhes, whereby the enemies ſhall have very ill watering. I would alſo take in the ſalt water about the town, but I cannot do it, by reaſon I ſhould infect our own water, wherewith we brew, and notwithſtanding all I can do, our brewers be ſo behind-hand in grinding and otherwiſe, as we ſhall find that one of our greateſt lacks. I therefore make all the haſte and proviſion I can there, and howſoever the matter go, muſt ſhortly be forced to let in the ſalt water.

The three men taken to-day be very ragged, and ill appointed. In examining, they confeſs that there is great miſery in their camp, and great want of money and victuals. They ſay, and I partly believe it, becauſe it almoſt appeareth to me, their number to be 25,000 footmen, whereof 10,000 Swiſſes, and 10,000 horſemen. The Duke of Guiſe is already among them, and the only deviſer and leader of this enterpriſe. They ſay alſo, a ſhot from the bridge to the Cauſe-

way

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way yeſterday, ſtruck off the Maſter of the camp's leg, called Captain Gourdault. I am alſo perfectly advertiſed, both by theſe men and otherwiſe, that they have no great ordnance yet come, but look for it daily by ſea; it is eighty pieces, whereof thirty be cannons, and are laden, with munition and victuals, in veſſels, which ſhall land at Sandgate, or rather I think at Boulogne, and to be taken out of the great ſhips, and ſo again embarked to Sandgate in leſſer veſſels, as they have done moſt part of their victuals and carriage that they have hitherto occupied. And ſurely if your Majeſty's ſhips had been on this ſhore, they might either have letted their voyage, or at the leaſt very much hindered it, and not unlike to have diſtreſſed them, being only ſmall boats. Their ordnance that comes ſhall be conveyed in the ſame ſort, it may therefore pleaſe your Majeſty to conſider it. I have alſo now fully diſcovered their enterprize, and am (as a man may be) moſt ſure they will firſt attempt upon Ryſbanke, and that way chiefly aſſail the town. Marry I think they lie hovering in the country, for the coming of their great artillery, and alſo to be maſters of the ſea. And therefore I truſt your Highneſs will haſte over all things neceſſary for us with expedition. Under your Majeſty's reformation, I think, if you pleaſed to ſet the paſſage at liberty for all men to come that would, bringing ſufficient victuals for themſelves for a ſeaſon, I am of opinion here would be enow, and with more ſpeed than can be made by order. Marry then muſt it well be foreſeen to tranſport with expedition victuals hither.

I have written to the King's Majeſty, of the enemy's being here, and was bold humbly to beſeech his Majeſty to give commiſſion to the Governors of his frontiers, I might, in neceſſity upon my letter, have three or four hundred harquebuſiers Spaniards, that now be placed about St. Omer's, whereof I thought it my duty to advertiſe your Majeſty for your pleaſure, whether I may write to the Governors to that effect, upon his Majeſty's anſwer, and take them or not.

I, with

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I, with the reſt of your Council here, are forced to put your Majeſty to ſome charges; for having taken in a confuſed number of countrymen, we muſt needs reduce them into order, and the commoners alſo, and have therefore called them into wages, and appointed Captains of the fitteſt men that preſently be here.

I have placed Dodd with his band in Ryſbanke, and the reſt of the extraordinary bands be at the bridge, and in the brayes of this town.

As I was making this diſcourſe, ſix Enſigns of footmen, and certain bands of horſemen, came from Sandgate by the Downs, within the ſight of Ryſbanke, on whom, that place and this town alſo, beſtowed divers ſhots.

This evening, they have made their approach to Ryſbanke, without any artillery, and as far as I can perceive, do mind to make the aſſault with ladders, herdy, &c. and other things, and that ways get it. At Calais the 2d of January, at ten in the night, 1557.

As I was in communication with your Mayor and Aldermen, touching the ſtate of this town, whom I find of marvellous good courage, and moſt ready to live and die in this town, I received letters from my Lords of the Council, of your Majeſty's aid provided for us.

I fear this ſhall be my laſt letter, for that the enemy will ſtop my paſſage, but I will do what I can tidily, to ſignify unto your Majeſty our ſtate.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

WENTWORTH.

Lord Grey to the Queen.

1557-8. January 4.

MY moſt bounden duty humbly premiſed to your Majeſty; whereas I have heretofore always in effect written nothing to your Highneſs but good, touching the ſervice and ſtate of your places here; I am now conſtrained with woful heart to ſignify unto your Majeſty theſe enſuing. The French have won Newhaven-bridge, and thereby entered into all the Low country, and the marſhes between this and Calais. They have alſo won Ryſbank, whereby they be now maſter of that haven. And this laſt night paſt, they have placed their ordnance of battery againſt Calais, and are encamped upon St. Peter's heath before it; ſo that now I am clean cut off from all relief and aid, which I looked to have both out of England and from Calais, and know not how to have help, by any means, either of men or victuals. There reſteth now none other way for the ſuccour of Calais, and the reſt of your Highneſs's places on this ſide, but a power of men out of England, or from the King's Majeſty, or from both without delay, able to diſtreſs and keep them from victuals coming to them, as well by ſea as by land, which ſhall force them to levy their ſiege to the battle, or elſe drive them to a greater danger. For lack of men out of England, I ſhall be forced to abandon the town, and take in the ſoldiers thereof for defence of the caſtle. I have made as good proviſion of victuals as I could by any means out of the country, with which, God willing, I doubt not to defend and keep this place as long as any man, whatſoever he be, having no better proviſion, and furniture of men and victuals than I have; wherein your Grace ſhall well perceive, that I will not fail to do the duty of a faithful ſubject and Captain, although the enemy attempt never ſo ſtoutly, according to the truſt repoſed in me. I addreſſed letters preſently to the King's Majeſty by this

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bearer, moſt humbly deſiring aid from him, according to the effect aforeſaid. I might now very evil have ſpared this bringer, my ſervant and truſty officer here, in this time of ſervice. Howbeit conſidering the great importance of his meſſage, I thought him a meet man for the purpoſe, deſiring your Majeſty to credit him fully, and to hear him at large, even as directly as your Grace would hear me, to open my mind in this complaint of imminent danger. Thus truſting of relief and comfort forthwith from your Majeſty for the ſafeguard of Calais, and other your places here, I take my leave moſt humbly of your Grace. At your Highneſs's Caſtle of Guiſnes, moſt aſſured Engliſh even to the death, the 4th of January 1557, at ſeven of the clock in the morning.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble
Servant, and obedient Subject,
GREY.

To the Queen our Sovereign Lady.

PLEASETH your Highneſs to underſtand the declaration of your humbleſt and faithful ſervant, John Highfield, concerning the beſieging and loſs of your Grace's town of Calais.

Firſt, being appointed by your moſt honourable Council to repair into England, I came. And after ſome intelligence that the French army drew towards the Engliſh pale, I was commanded to return with diligence unto my charge at Calais, and I arrived there on New Year's Day in the morning. The enemy being then encamped about Sandgate; the ſaid morning, after I had delivered letters to my Lord Deputy, from your Grace's ſaid Cõuncil, the ſaid Lord Deputy told me how the alarm was made the night before, and alſo what he thought meet for me to be done, for the better furniture of thoſe

thoſe fortreſſes which were in moſt danger, as the bulwarks of the High Country, Guiſnes, Newhavenbridge, and Ryſbanke, and alſo for the Defence of the Low Country, becauſe his Lordſhip thought their enterpriſe had tended only to the ſpoil thereof. Then I ſhowed that there was ſufficient ſtore of all munitions, and that I would ſend to all places as need required, which was done.

Item, On Sunday following, we perceived the French ordnance was brought to their camp; whereby appeared that the enemy meant to batter ſome place. And thereupon there were two mounts repaired for the better defence. At the ſame time, I deſired to have ſome pioneers appointed to help the cannoneers (who were not forty in number) for the placing and entrenching of our great ordnance, which pioneers I could never get. The ſame day, the enemy forced our men to forſake the bulwarks of the High Country, and then it was moved to my Lord Deputy, that the ſea might be let in, as well to drown the cauſeway beyond Newhavenbridge, as alſo other places about the town; wherein was anſwered, not to be neceſſary without more appearance of beſieging; and becauſe that the ſea being entered ſhould hinder the paſtures of the cattle, and alſo the brewing of the beer. The ſame day my Lord took order that victuals and other neceſſaries ſhould be ſent to Newhavenbridge for ſix days, which was done.

Item, On Monday in the morning, my Lord Deputy with the reſt of the Council there, perceiving that the enemy intended to approach nearer, were in doubt whether they might abandon the Low Country; and by advice, my Lord gave order, that the Bailiff of Marke ſhould appoint the ſervants and women of the Low Country, with their ſuperfluous cattle, to draw, if need happened, into the Flemiſh pale, and the ſaid Bailiff with his beſt men to repair to Marke church, and there to abide further order. The ſame morning before day, the enemy had made their approaches, and did batter both Newhavenbridge and the Ryſbanke, which was given up before nine of the clock.

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The Captain of Newhavenbridge had word ſent him, that if he ſaw no remedy to avoid the danger, that then he ſhould retire with his company into the town. The Captain of Ryſbanke did about the ſame time ſurrender, becauſe (as he told me ſince) his pieces were all diſmounted, and the ſoldiers very loth to tarry at the breach, wherein I know no more. But after the enemy were entered, I cauſed the ſaid Ryſbanke to be battered, and when my Lord ſaw how little it profited, he commanded to ceaſe. The ſame day the paſſages being both loſt, the enemy planted their ordnance on the Sand-hill, to batter the north ſide of the town; and then I moved my Lord to call in as many countrymen as he could, and to appoint them Captains, and their ſeveral quarters, for the relief of thoſe which did moſt commonly watch and attend on the walls, who anſwered, that he had determined already ſo to do. Howbeit the women did more labour about the rampart than the ſaid countrymen, which, for lack of order in time, did abſent themſelves in houſes and other ſecret places.

The ſame evening, Captain Saligues came into Calais, whereupon the people rejoiced, hoping ſome ſuccour, but after that time, it was too late to receive help by land, becauſe the French horſemen were entered the Low Country.

Item, On Tueſday in the morning, the enemy begun their battery to the town, on which ſide I had placed fourteen braſs pieces. Howbeit, within ſhort time, the enemy having ſo commodious a place, did diſmount certain of our beſt pieces, and conſumed ſome of the gunners, which ſtood very open for lack of mounds and good fortification. For if the rampart had been finiſhed, there might divers pieces have been brought from other places, which were above ſixty in number, ready mounted, but lacking convenient place, and chiefly cannoneers and pioneers, it was hard to diſplace the French battery; which counter-battery could not have been maintained for lack of powder. For at the beginning, having in ſtore four hundred

dred barrels, I found that there was ſpent within five days, one hundred.

Item, On Wedneſday the enemy continued their battery on the town without great hurt done, becauſe they could not beat the foot of the wall, for that the contremure was of a good height, and we reinforced the breach in the night, with timber, wool, and other matter ſufficiently, and we looked that the enemy would have attempted the aſſault the ſame evening, whereupon I cauſed two flankers to be made ready, and alſo placed two bombards, by the help of the ſoldiers, appointing weapons and fireworks to be in readineſs at the ſaid breach. At which time my Lord commanded the ſoldiers of the garriſon to keep their ordinary wards, and Maſter Grimſton to the breach with the reſidue of the beſt ſoldiers. And then my Lord exhorted all men to fight, with other good words, as in ſuch caſe appertaineth. And my ſaid Lord told me divers times, that although there came no ſuccour, yet he would never yield, nor ſtand to anſwer the loſs of ſuch a town.

Item, On Thurſday began one other battery to the caſtle, which being a high and weak wall without rampart, was made faultable the ſame day. Whereupon the Captain of the caſtle deſired ſome more help, to defend his breach, or elſe to know what my Lord thought beſt in that behalf. Then after long debating, my Lord determined to have the towers overthrown, which one Saulle took upon him to do, notwithſtanding I ſaid openly, that if the caſtle were abandoned, it ſhould be the loſs of the town. The ſame night my Lord appointed me to be at the breach of the town with him; and about eight of the clock the enemy waded over the haven at the low water, with certain harquebuſiers, to view the breaches, and coming to the caſtle, found no reſiſtance, and ſo entered; then the ſaid Saulle failed to give fire unto the train of powder. Then my Lord underſtanding that the enemy were entered into the caſtle, commanded me to give order for battering the caſtle, whereupon incontinent there

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there were bent three cannons, and one ſaker before the gate, to beat the bridge, which being in the night did not greatly annoy. The ſame time, Mr. Marſhall with divers ſoldiers came towards the caſtle, leſt the enemy ſhould enter the town alſo. And after we had ſkirmiſhed upon the bridge (ſeeing no remedy to recover the caſtle), we did burn and break the ſaid bridge; and there was a trench immediately caſt before the caſtle, which was only help at that time. Within one hour after, upon neceſſity of things, determined to ſend a trumpet with a herald, declaring, that if the French would ſend one gentleman, then he would ſend one other in gage. Whereupon my Lord ſent for me, and commanded that I ſhould go forth of the town for the ſame purpoſe, wherein I deſired his Lordſhip, that he would ſend ſome other, and rather throw me over the walls; then he ſpoke likewiſe to one Windebanke, and to Maſſingberd (as I remember), which were both to go unto ſuch ſervice. Then my Lord ſent for me again into Peyton's houſe, and being eftſoons commanded by the Council there, I went forth with a trumpet, and received in a French Gentleman, who, as I heard, was brought to my Lord Deputy's houſe, and treated upon ſome articles, which were brought within one hour by one Hall, merchant of the Staple. Then Monſieur D'Andelot entered the town with certain French Gentlemen, and the ſaid Hall and I were brought to Monſ. de Guiſe, who lay in the Sand-hills by Ryſbanke, and there the ſaid Hall delivered a bill, and we were ſent to Monſ. D'Eſtree's tent. The Friday after, Monſ. D'Eſtrees told me, that my Lord Deputy had agreed to render the town with loſs of all the goods, and fifty priſoners to remain. On Saturday he brought me into the town, willing me to tell him what ordnance, powder, and other houſes did belong unto my office, becauſe he would reſerve the ſame from ſpoiling by the French ſoldiers. And after he had knowledge that all my living was on that ſide, he was content that I ſhould depart into Flanders. Notwithſtanding, I was driven off until Wedneſday; then he ſaid, he would

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ſend me away, if I would promiſe him to make ſuit, that his ſon might return in exchange for the Captain of the caſtle, who being priſoner, deſired me alſo to travail in it, for he would rather give 3000 crowns than remain a priſoner. Whereupon I promiſed to enquire and labour in the ſame matter to the beſt of my power. At my ſaid return into the town, I found my wife, which ſhowed me that in my abſence, ſhe had beſtowed my money and plate to the value of 600 *l.* which was found before my coming, ſaving one bag with 350 crowns, which I offered to give unto the ſaid Monſ. D'Eſtrees, if he would promiſe me on his honour to diſpatch me on horſeback to Graveling, which he did. And there I met with Monſ. de Vandeville, to whom I told, that I thought the enemy would viſit him ſhortly; and among other things, I enquired of him where Monſ. D'Eſtrees's ſon did lie, who told me that he was at Bruges.

Then at my coming to Dunkirk, there were divers Engliſhmen willing to ſerve, whereupon I ſpake to the Captain of the town, who adviſed me to move it to the Duke of Savoy. Then I rode to Bruges, beſeeching him to conſider the poor men, and how willing they were to ſerve the King's Majeſty if they might be employed. Then he anſwered, that he thought my Lord of Pembroke would ſhortly arrive to Dunkirk, and then he would take order. Further, the ſaid Duke aſked me, after what ſort the town was loſt? I anſwered, that the cauſe was not only by the weakneſs of the caſtle, and lack of men, but alſo I thought there was ſome treaſon, for, as I heard, there were ſome eſcaped out of the town, and the Frenchmen told me, that they had intelligence of all our eſtate within the town. Then I put the Duke in remembrance of Guiſnes, who told me, that he would ſuccour the caſtle, if it were kept four or five days. Then I took leave to depart from him, and when I was going out of the houſe, he ſent the Captain of his guard to commit me to priſon, where I have remained nine weeks, without any matter

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laid to my charge, ſaving he ſent to me within fourteen days after, to declare in writing, after what ſort the town was loſt, which I did as nigh as I could remember. And at the Duke's next return to Bruges, I ſent him a ſupplication, deſiring, that if any information were made againſt me, that I might anſwer it in England, or otherwiſe at his pleaſure. Whereupon he took order to ſend me hither without paying any part of my charges, which I have promiſed to anſwer. Moſt humbly praying your Highneſs to conſider my poor eſtate, and willing heart, which I bear, and am moſt bounden to your Grace's ſervice, beſeeching God to conſerve your Majeſty in all felicity.

ELIZABETH.

No. VII.

Letters from Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, Ambaſſador in France. From the Originals in the Paper Office.

[This ſuite of Letters from Throckmorton is publiſhed by way of addition to what Dr. Forbes has already printed, of the negociations of that able and well informed Ambaſſador. He was then on the moſt confidential terms with Cecil; but on his return home, not meeting with the reward he expected and deſerved for his ſervices, he ſtruck in not only with the Leiceſter faction, but with the Queen of Scots' party, and did the worſt offices in his power to the Secretary; he had likewiſe quarrelled in France, and was at the eve of fighting with Sir T. Smith, his colleague, and the intimate friend of Cecil, and it is probable that the latter who went by plain ways to direct ends, diſliked his intriguing ſpirit, and dreaded his abilities. There is an original picture of him at Wobourn, which has a remarkable ſubtle look.]

1560. October 28.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Secret. Cecil.

SIR,

THE 25th of October, in the night, I received the Queen's Majeſty's packet, with the letters and writings mentioned in the ſame, by my ſervant Davis; and alſo a letter from you, which amongſt other things containeth your advice to have me write to her Majeſty, to move the ſame for order to be taken in the better diſpatch of her affairs, which, you ſay, are too much neglected. For anſwer whereunto, I ſay, I know not where to begin: I looked by your laſt to be ſomewhat ſatisfied and reſolved, touching the greateſt matter of all, I mean the Queen's marriage. I know not what to think, nor how to underſtand your letter in that point. And the bruits be ſo brim, and ſo maliciouſly reported here, touching the marriage of the

ELIZABETH. Lord Robert, and the death of his wife *, as I know not where to turn me, nor what countenance to bear. Sir, I thank God I had rather periſh and quail with honeſty, than live and beguile a little time with ſhame.

And therefore I tell you plainly, until I hear off, or on, what you think in that matter, I ſee no reaſon in the adviſing of her Majeſty. Marry, to you I ſay in private, that albeit I do like him for ſome reſpects well, and eſteem him for many good parts and gifts of nature, that be in him, and do wiſh him well to do; yet the love, duty, and affection, that I bear to the Queen's Majeſty, and to the ſurety of herſelf, and her realm, doth, and ſhall, during my life, take more place in me, than any friendſhip, or any particular caſe. And therefore I ſay, if that marriage take place, I know not to what purpoſe any advice or counſel ſhould be given; for as I ſee into the matter, none would ſerve. If you think, that I have any ſmall ſkill or judgment in things at home, or on this ſide, or can conjecture ſequels, I do aſſure you, the matter ſucceeding, our ſtate is in great danger of utter ruin and deſtruction. And ſo far methinketh I ſee into the matter, as I wiſh myſelf already dead, becauſe I would not live in that time. I beſeech you, like as I deal plainly with you, ſo to ſignify plainly unto me, not only what is done in that matter, but what you think will be the end. Thereupon you ſhall perceive, that I will write unto her Majeſty my poor advice, in ſuch ſort, as becometh a true and faithful ſervant. And if the matter be not already determined, and ſo far paſt, as advice will not ſerve, I require you, as you bear a true and faithful heart to her Majeſty and the realm, and do deſire to keep them from utter deſolation, *& in viſceribus Jeſu Chriſti*, I conjure you to do all your

* The daughter of Sir J. Roberſet; ſhe died in a loneſome houſe in Berkſhire, belonging to a tenant of Lord R. Dudley; her death was attended with ſuch odd circumſtances, as gave occaſion to many unfavourable reports; and Lord Burleigh, in a note of his printed in the 1ſt Vol. of the Hatfield Papers, takes notice of it, as affording juſt grounds of ſcandal.

endeavour

endeavour to hinder that marriage. For, if it take place, there is no counſel nor advice, that can help. Who would be either patron or mariner, when there is no remedy to keep the ſhip from ſinking? As we begin already to be in deriſion and hatred, for the bruit only, and nothing taken here on this ſide more aſſured than our deſtruction; ſo if it take place, we ſhall be *opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis.* God and religion, which be the fundaments, ſhall be out of eſtimation; the Queen our Sovereign diſcredited, contemned, and neglected; our country ruined, undone, and made prey. Wherefore with tears and ſighs, as one being already almoſt confounded, I beſeech you again and again, ſet to your wits, and all your help to ſtay the commonwealth, which lieth now in great hazard.

Let us remember what this noble wiſe man ſaid, when he uſed theſe words: "Ego enim exiſtimo melius agi cum civibus privatim, "ſi tota reſpublica fortunata ſit, quam ſi per ſingulos cives felix "ſit, publicè vero labefactetur. Nam quum evertitur patria, is, "cui privatim bene eſt, nihil tamen minus et ipſe evertitur; cui "autem malè, is in illa proſperè agente, multo magis incolumis eſt." For your letters, they be as ſafe in my hand as in your own, and more ſafe in mine than in any meſſenger's. Think it aſſuredly, I am as jealous of your ſafety and well doing, as yourſelf; and ſo conceive of me.

If you will be pleaſed to write unto me ſooner than you ſhall have occaſion to ſend a poſt, my couſin H. Middlemore, my ſteward, can, I ſuppoſe, convey your letters ſafely unto me. I am much beguiled, if he be not an honeſt and faithful young man; I pray you deal with my letters as I do with yours; for all is not gold that glitters, and that you may well perceive by ſome men's new haunts. It may like you to ſhew this bearer ſome favour for my ſake, in his ſuit. I pray you alſo, let my Lord of Creigh find courteſy at your hands. The man is well affected to you, for the bruit that

ELIZABETH. runneth of you. Thus I humbly take my leave of you. From Paris the 28th of October, 1560.

Yours, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

1560. October 31.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Secret. Cecil.

Mr. SECRETARY,

BY letters which I wrote to you by the Lord of Creigh, of the 28th of this preſent, I ſignified, that I minded not to depart out of this town, till Du Bois, maſter of the camp, were paſſed by; now I am advertiſed, that the 30th of this month, he went along here, and hath brought with him out of the places and forts of Picardy, one thouſand footmen, who marched together, by this town and Roan, towards Anjou, as it is told me; but the very truth, whither they ſhall go, is not known but to himſelf and to the Duke of Guiſe, and to never a Captain of his company.

Their kind of marching is very ſtrange. They keep together ſtrong, as if it were in the enemy's country.

I am advertiſed, that after theſe thouſand, come five hundred more; the places from whence theſe be taken, are filled up again with the Legionaires. Anjou is not far from Nantz, where the gallies lie; and therefore the matter is to be looked to, and the more, if there be any ſhips or bottoms in rigging there, or near unto. And therefore it ſhall not be amiſs to have an eye thither, by ſuch as trade that way from England, or by ſuch other means, as you can deviſe, wherein I will alſo travail the beſt I can. Hereof I thought good to advertiſe you: and alſo, that I am now upon my departure towards Orleans, the ſaid Du Bois being paſſed by.

I ſend

ELIZABETH.

I ſend you herewith the laſt order that was taken for the aſſembly of the men at arms, to be at Orleans, as you ſhall perceive. You ſhall alſo receive a new almanack and prognoſtication of Noſtradamus; but I think he never ſaw it.

I cannot perceive that the King of Navarre is yet come to the Court. This Scottiſh Gentleman, bearer hereof, is named Alexander Forſter, laird of Torwood. I pray you let him have your favour, by your favour and your means, for his good uſage, and quiet paſſing into his country, whither he repaireth preſently. And thus I take my leave of you, wiſhing you in health your heart's deſire. From Paris the laſt of October 1560.

Your's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to the Queen.

1560. Novem. 17.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty to be advertiſed, that ſince the ſending of my letters unto the ſame the 28th of October, by my Lord of Creigh, upon knowledge given me, that the maſter of the camp, De Bois, was coming forward out of Picardy with 1500 men, I ſtaid ſomewhat longer at Paris than I minded to have done, to underſtand what way he would take; wherein I ſignified ſomewhat to Mr. Secretary by my letters of the laſt of October, ſent by the Laird of Torwoodhead, of Scotland; and as the ſaid De Bois being paſſed by towards Angiers and Nantz, giveth cauſe of ſuſpicion; and, therefore, conſidering what advertiſement your Majeſty hath of preparation there (which I know not), and his coaſting that way greatly to be doubted, and that the galleys be at Nantz, which have lately been victualled; the worſt is to be feared: ſo I thought not convenient to ſtay longer at Paris, but took my way towards Orleans, where I arrived

ELIZABETH. arrived the 4th of this preſent; and for my better proceeding, touching your Majeſty's inſtructions given unto me, immediately upon my coming thither, I uſed means to ſpeak with
the 6th of this preſent at night, where
had proceeded with this King and Queen, and their Council, ſince his arrival here. Of the particularities of whoſe doings, the bearer hereof, your Majeſty's ſervant, whom I have therein inſtructed, ſhall be able to inform your Majeſty, to whom it may like you to give credit.

that he had not, as they had, any commodity, either to ſhew his commiſſion, or to demand the ratification, and that the 6th of this preſent, he was appointed to ſhew his commiſſion, and thereupon minded to demand the ſaid ratification. And foraſmuch as the chief cauſe alleged by the King for the ſtay of the ratifying of the treaty between your Majeſty and him, when it was laſt demanded, depended upon the priority (as this King took it) of the Scottiſh treaty, and that hitherto the ſaid Ambaſſador was at no point, nor could not tell whereupon to truſt; albeit your Majeſty commandeth me by your letters of the 19th of October, to require audience, and to demand the ratification eftſoons at this King's hands; yet becauſe I would the more groundly proceed in my charge, by as much knowledge as I could get of the anſwer to be given to the Scotch Ambaſſador, I ſtaid my demanding of audience, till I might be informed, how he had proceeded, touching his charge.

Having thus ſtaid to ſee what would ſucceed the 6th of this preſent, of the ſaid Ambaſſador's doings, and perceiving the 7th of the ſame, that there was nothing done touching the ratification of his treaty between France and Scotland, but that he had very good words and promiſes for his ſatisfaction; I ſent your Majeſty's ſervant Mr. Somers, the ſame night, to ſpeak unto the Cardinal for audience, who made anſwer, that the next day the King was determined to go on hunting, ſo as I could not that day ſpeak with him; but he ſaid,

that

that if I would the next morning ſend unto him, he would ſend me more particular word of the King's pleaſure; whereupon the 8th of this month, I ſent again unto him for that purpoſe, and he ſent me anſwer that I could not have audience before Monday the 11th of this preſent. ELIZABETH.

Notwithſtanding the Cardinal his laſt anſwer, the 10th of this preſent, about dinner time, he ſent unto me a Gentleman to advertiſe me, that the King was ſet to dinner, and was pleaſed in the afternoon to give me audience; and therefore prayed me (if I would) to come to dinner to him.

After I had ſtaid a little while at my lodging, being ſet at dinner before his coming, he returned the ſame Gentleman again unto me, to tell me that the King and he had dined and tarried for me; whereupon I repaired to the Court, and firſt ſpeaking with the Cardinal, and after with the King, I declared to either of them that part of your Majeſty's inſtructions given me, touching the demanding of the ratification. I received of them both one anſwer, which was, (they ſaid) that the Maſter of St. John's of Scotland was indeed come; but foraſmuch as the King was greatly impeded through his own affairs, and could not have time to underſtand his charge, and to give him audience, they had not as yet thoroughly conſidered theſe things which he had to do with them; notwithſtanding the King would ſpeak with the ſaid Maſter of St. John's the next day (which was the 11th of this preſent) and then give him anſwer; whereupon, if I did ſend my Secretary unto the Cardinal, I ſhould know when I ſhould eftſoons have acceſs to the King, and then underſtand his further pleaſure.

The Lord of St. John's having been with the King's Council the 11th of this preſent, I looked to hear from the Cardinal (as he promiſed) touching my charge; and ſtaying two days without knowledge from him, I did, the 13th of this preſent, ſend Mr. Somers to the Cardinal, to put him in remembrance, that I might know the King's pleaſure,

ELIZABETH.

touching the ratification, ſeeing the Lord of St. John's had already been two days before with the Council. The Cardinal made him anſwer, that the King had been ſo buſied, as he had no time, ſince my being at the Court, to conſider the matter. Mr. Somers told him, that I ſaid that with theſe delays the time paſſed, and that your Majeſty would both think it long, and judge a great fault in me, that there was no better expedition therein; the Cardinal ſaid hereunto, that the King had cauſe to think the time as long as your Majeſty did; but there was no remedy, and therefore I muſt be contented.

After I had received this anſwer from the Cardinal, I did underſtand, by good means, that ſuch of the French King's Council, as had the ſcanning and diſcuſſion of the treaty of Scotland in their hands, found divers faults and imperfections (as they expounded it), whereby the French King and Queen may have good reaſon to refuſe the ratification thereof, as (I am indeed advertiſed) they mind to do. Whereupon weighing that it would be a long time before the Lord of St. John's could be anſwered, and that, in the end, the treaty ſhould not be ratified, I thought not meet to ground my proceedings further upon the ſaid Ambaſſador's delays, but to proceed more roundly to the demanding of the ratification of your Majeſty's ſaid treaty. And becauſe the Cardinal had ſent me two dilatory anſwers before, touching the ſame, the 14th of this preſent in the forenoon, I ſent Mr. Somers to the Cardinal to tell him, that I had received ſince my being with him, other letters from her Majeſty, and therefore prayed him to ſignify unto me, when I might have audience (for I feared leſt that if I had ſpoken of the treaty, he would further have delayed me). The Cardinal as then made him anſwer, that if he would come again in the afternoon, he would ſend me word what I ſhould do, which Mr. Somers did, and the Cardinal thereupon made anſwer, that the next day, the 15th of this preſent, I ſhould have audience, and that he would ſend a Gentleman unto me to advertiſe me of the time, and to conduct me to the Court.

The

ELIZABETH.

The 14th day the Lord of St. John's (as I am informed) was earneſt with the Cardinal, and preſſed him for ſome reſolution, touching his charge. The Cardinal anſwered him, that the King's Council had conſidered the affairs he was ſent for, and found, that the King and Queen's ſubjects of Scotland, ſought to deprive the King and Queen of the right of pre-eminence of the realm of Scotland, and to reduce it to the form of a republic; which he ſaid the King and Queen could in no wiſe endure, as they ſhould right well perceive. The Lord of St. John's uſed as good means as he could to perſuade the contrary to the Cardinal, who ſaid, Uſe no more words to perſuade me in the matter, for we ſee too thoroughly into it, and (quoth he) what meaneth this dealing, that they ſend you hither in poſt, and ſend a great legation to the Queen of England, with great ſhow and pomp? I ſpeak it not becauſe we take exceptions to you, as though you were not meet enough to take the charge of the matter, but we do ſee the little reverence they have towards their Sovereigns, and the great eſtimation they have of the Queen of England; and it appeareth by their doings, that they deſire all the world ſhould ſee it. But my Lord, quoth the Cardinal, you ſhall not need to trouble yourſelf any more with the matter, for you ſhall have your diſpatch the 17th of this month, and the King and Queen mind to ſend two Gentlemen into your country ſhortly, who ſhall declare on their behalf, the reaſons why the King and Queen refuſe to ratify your treaty.

The 15th of this preſent, after the King had dined, the Cardinal ſent a Gentleman unto me, to accompany me to the Court, where being arrived, Monſ. de Lanſac, a Knight of the Order, entertained me a while, in the chamber next to the King's chamber, until the Cardinal of Lorrain came unto me, out of the King's chamber (after I had pauſed with the ſaid de Lanſac), unto whom I ſaid, Monſieur Cardinal, you do well remember, that upon Sunday laſt at my laſt audience, renewing on the Queen my Miſtreſs's behalf to the King,

ELIZABETH.

the demand for the King and Queen's ratification of the treaty concluded and accorded in Scotland, by the deputies of both their Majeſties, the King and you anſwered me, that when his Majeſty and his Council had thoroughly conſidered the matters of Scotland, which ſhould be within three or four days, I ſhould have my anſwer, and for that now five days be paſt, and I hear nothing of the King's pleaſure, and alſo I being, by late letters from her Majeſty, commanded to renew again the demand for the ratification, have deſired audience, to put the King in remembrance thereof.

The Cardinal anſwered, that the King was a little impeached, and therefore I muſt a while take patience; but, quoth he, as unto the ratification of the treaty, the King being a Prince of honour, meaneth to proceed thereafter, and will promiſe nothing but he will perform, and therefore he will look well to what he promiſeth. The Princes, quoth he, be equal, and the King doth not mean ſo to derogate from himſelf, as to begin to do an act firſt, thereby to abaſe himſelf. In theſe caſes the Princes muſt execute together, and, quoth he, you muſt not take it, that the King doth look for any pre-eminence at the Queen, your Miſtreſs's hands. The King and his Council, quoth he, have ſeen all that the Maſter of St. John's hath brought; and otherwiſe alſo underſtandeth the truth of their proceedings in Scotland, which is ſo far out of order, as if your Miſtreſs were arbiter, ſhe would not think meet, that the King ſhould ratify the treaty, as we ſhall give her to underſtand by ſuch Miniſters, as the King doth mean preſently to ſend into Scotland, through England.

I ſaid unto the Cardinal, Monſieur, doth not the King mean to ratify the treaty?

You ſhall anon, quoth the Cardinal, know the King's pleaſure therein. I ſaid unto him, the Queen my Miſtreſs will find it very ſtrange, if there be any more delays uſed in that behalf, and becauſe you are, quoth I, the King's principal Counſellor, I will declare

unto

unto you the occaſions that the Queen my Miſtreſs hath to find herſelf grieved, and very ſtrange handled of a Prince, that pretendeth to bear her amity.

Firſt, I will paſs over all the evaſions that have been hitherto uſed, touching the ratification of the treaty, which you know have been many, and I will remember you, that contrary to the expreſs words of the treaty, the King doth the Queen my Miſtreſs this injury, as to bear yet her arms quartered with his, as hath been moſt manifeſtly ſeen, at his entry at St. Dennis, and laſtly at this town, where they hang yet openly upon every gate, and here at the court-gate very notoriouſly.

Moreover, the Queen, my Miſtreſs's ſubjects, be daily ſpoiled at the ſea, either by the King's ſubjects, or by pirates of this nation; and no reſtitution can be had by any means, ſo as there is no difference between your peace and war.

Thirdly, The Queen my Miſtreſs, doth underſtand, that in ſundry ports of this realm, as at Havre de Grace and in other places, there be ſhips prepared to do either ſuch like enterpriſes or worſe, and it is not alſo unknown that all along the coaſt, there is preparation to make a navy to the ſea.

Her Majeſty doth alſo underſtand of the amaſſing of forces by land, as well in this realm as elſewhere in Almain and Switzerland; and now laſtly, conſidering, after ſo many promiſes, theſe new delays to be uſed for the ratification of the treaty, will move the Queen my Miſtreſs, together with theſe former injuries, and cauſes of ſuſpicion, occaſion to hold the King's meaning greatly ſuſpected.

And finally, the Queen is advertiſed, that your galleys, which lately arrived at Nantz, there to winter, be now victualled, and ſhall ſhortly be brought into the narrow ſeas; and albeit, quoth I, your force gathered by land, may ſeem to have ſome colour reaſonable, for the appeaſing of the tumults in this realm; yet there is no cauſe

ELIZABETH.

why the preparing of an army by ſea, ſhould ſerve to any ſuch purpoſe.

The Cardinal anſwered, as unto the uſing and bearing of the arms of England, the King and the Queen did uſe them, as you know of long time before, and not without reaſon and title, as it is thought. We ſee no reaſon why the King ſhould leave his right, until others do that which they are bound to do: for where you allege for your purpoſe the treaty, we ſay it is no treaty until it be ratified, and then there is no reaſon why the King and Queen ſhould in that behalf more ſatisfy your Miſtreſs than ſhe ſhould ſatisfy them, nor we begin before ſhe begin.

I told him, your Majeſty had performed all things on your part, that was required by the treaty, and further, had ſhewn great kindneſs and pleaſures to ſundry of the King's Miniſters, as in lending them money, in tranſporting their people forth of Scotland, in retiring your force from thence, and diſarming your navy; and in recompence hereof, there was nothing done on their behalfs.

The Cardinal ſaid, I will tell you frankly; the Scots, the King's ſubjects, do perform no point of their duties; the King and the Queen hath the name of their Sovereigns; and your Miſtreſs hath the effect and the obedience. They would bring the realm to a republic, and ſay in their words, they be the King's ſubjects. To tell you of the particular diſorders, quoth he, were too long; every man doth what he liſt: all this is too far out of order, and when fault is found with them, they threaten the King with the aid of the Queen your Miſtreſs: let your Miſtreſs either make them obedient ſubjects, or let her rid her hands of them; for rather than they ſhall be at this point, the King will quit all. They have made a league with the Queen your Miſtreſs, of themſelves, without us. What manner of dealing is this of ſubjects? Thereupon it is they bear themſelves ſo proudly. What conveniency is there in their

doings? They have ſent hither a mean man in poſt to the King and Queen, their Sovereigns, and to the Queen, your Miſtreſs, a great and ſolemn legation. To be plain with you, quoth he, the King cannot like theſe doings. As I told you the King meaneth to ſend two Gentlemen; firſt, to the Queen your Miſtreſs, to inform her of the things where the King is offended, and the cauſe why he refuſeth the ratification of the treaty; and they ſhall paſs into Scotland, to declare unto them the King and Queen's pleaſure. And where you ſay your Miſtreſs hath in all things performed the treaty, we ſay the Scots do by her countenance perform no point of the treaty; and moreover ſhe hath broken the old treaty, in giving paſſport and licence to the King's ſubjects of Scotland, to come into England; and for that purpoſe neither motion hath been made by our Ambaſſador, nor letter from the King nor Queen, their Sovereigns, granted them in that behalf. ELIZABETH.

As to the ſpoiling, quoth the Cardinal, of your Miſtreſs's ſubjects at the ſea; this complaint is too general; you have made but one complaint unto us particularly, and what ſpeedy and favourable diſpatch the plaintiffs had, I report me to yourſelf, and to them. We could remember you of divers particular matters, whereof we have but cold redreſs. If you inform us of the depredations, and the offenders, and then can get no redreſs, then you have cauſe to complain, and to charge us.

As to the equipage of the ſhips, quoth he, at Havre de Grace, and in other places, true it is, the Admiral doth ſet forth four or five, ſome for Brazil, and ſome for Mina *. Of theſe there is no cauſe why you ſhould be jealous. The Ambaſſador of Spain was in hand with us for the ſame purpoſe. The Admiral hath aſcertained him with his own hand, that they are for theſe voyages, and if there be any other matter in it, it will coſt him his head. We are not ſo

* On the Guinea coaſt.

jealous

ELIZABETH.

jealous of your preparations of five or ſix ſhips, which be ready to come forth of Thamiſe.

As to the aſſembling of our forces by land, quoth the Cardinal, we have brought them from Picardy hither into the midſt of the realm, you had more cauſe to ſuſpect them being at Picardy than where they be, I am ſure you know as well as we where they be.

For Almain and Switzerland, I aſſure you of mine honour, we levy not a man; indeed, our Commiſſaries be gone to warn our Colonels, to be ready when we ſhall have need of them.

As to the galleys, quoth he, we cannot ſuffer our men to be unvictualled; but they be in no readineſs to make a voyage; for many of our chief men be gone to Marſeilles, there to winter; but what and the King do remove them to ſome other place, will you be jealous if the King do remove his ſhips or galleys, from one port to another upon his own coaſt, as his affairs requireth, or the more commodious harbour for them? we be not ſo quarrelling nor jealous when your ſhips go from one place to another.

This great legation forth of Scotland, quoth he, goeth for the marriage of the Queen your Miſtreſs with the Earl of Arran, what ſhall ſhe have with him? I think, quoth he, her heart too great to marry with ſuch one as he is, and one of the Queen's ſubjects.

But to conclude with you, quoth the Cardinal, the King will ſee the obedience of his ſubjects, and their duties better performed, before he ratify the treaty. I will now, quoth he, go tell the King that you have long tarried for him; and ſo he departed from me.

Shortly after, I was brought to the King, whom I put in remembrance what paſſed betwixt us the 10th of this month at my laſt audience; and that I was now come to demand his ratification of the treaty again.

The King anſwered, that the Scots, his ſubjects, had in no point obſerved their duty, nor no part of the treaty; and for that cauſe, he

he could not ratify your Majeſty's treaty. I told him that your Majeſty would find it ſtrange, that after ſo many delays, the matter was now ſo anſwered; and therefore your Majeſty had given me in charge to tell him on your part, and ſo declared unto him all your griefs, which I did as I had done unto the Cardinal, and ſet forth unto him all the good parts uſed on your behalf towards him, the Queen his wife, and all their Miniſters and ſubjects. ELIZABETH.

His anſwer was, that he had not failed on his part to do the like; and he would ſend two of his Gentlemen to your Majeſty, to inform you of all; and, quoth he, I am ſure mine uncle the Cardinal hath anſwered you to all thoſe points that you complain of; and ſo he diſmiſſed me.

The Duke of Guiſe did accompany me from the King, to whom I did reiterate this ſtrange manner of dealing, and recited unto him thoſe your Majeſty's cauſes of miſliking the King's uſage and proceedings towards you, as I had done to his brother.

The Duke anſwered me as the Cardinal did, to every point; and added further, in anſwering the complaint of the depredations, and ſlow reſtitution, that they had a great deal more cauſe to complain, as well for ſundry ſpoliations made upon the King's ſubjects, by your Majeſty's ſubjects, as alſo for the taking of his brother's goods, the Marquis D'Elbeuf, as corn of the King and other munition, with ſundry other ſpoils, whereof they had but ſlow amends.

I told him thoſe matters (if there were any ſuch) were done before the treaty was made; and ſo the Cardinal and Monſ. de L'Aubeſpine called him from me.

I deſired to ſpeak with the Queen mother, and ſo I was brought to her by Monſ. de Lanſac.

The ſaid Queen was accompanied with the Marſhal Briſac. I did repeat unto her all your Majeſty's proceedings, ſince the making of the treaty, at good length, all the office that I had uſed in the demanding the ratification; and laſtly the anſwer I had received of the King

ELIZABETH. King and his Council, together with the declaration of injuries and cauſes of offence offered ſundry ways unto your Majeſty. I ſet forth unto her, as I could, the good opinion your Majeſty had always of her, and of her good affection and inclination to maintain the King her ſon, and you in good amity and intelligence.

For anſwer, ſhe thanked your Majeſty for your good opinion of her; and ſaid, you were therein nothing deceived; and it ſhould always appear by her doings. As unto the ratification, ſhe knew the King and his Council had declared reaſons unto me, for the ſtay of it; which your Majeſty ſhould know ſhortly by expreſs men from the King her ſon.

As unto the injuries and ſuſpicions, ſhe ſaid, ſhe was ſure the Cardinal and the Duke of Guiſe had opened enough unto me, to hold myſelf contented; ending, that for her part, ſhe would do the beſt ſhe could, to keep both your Majeſties, your realms, and ſubjects, in good terms and amity.

Whilſt I was talking with the Queen Mother, the French Queen came in, unto whom, after the communication ended with the Queen Mother, I ſaid, Madame, it is not unknown to you, how the ratification of the treaty lately made in Scotland, hath ſeemed hitherto to have been deferred, becauſe the nobility and people of your realm of Scotland did not ſend hither to the King and you, to do their duties, and now that the Queen my Miſtreſs doth underſtand, they have in that part, and in the name of them all, ſatisfied their duty, by ſending hither the Lord of St. John's to the King and you; her Majeſty hath commanded me to demand of your Majeſty the ratification of the treaty, accorded and concluded by both your deputies at Edinburgh.

The Queen anſwered, Such anſwer as the King my Lord and huſband, and his Council, hath made you in that matter, might ſuffice to anſwer you; but becauſe you ſhall know I have reaſon

to

to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuſe to ratify the treaty; my ſubjects of Scotland do their duty in no thing, nor have not performed one point that belongeth to them. I am, quoth ſhe, their Queen, and ſo they call me, but they uſe me not ſo; they have done what pleaſeth them, and though I have not many faithful there, yet thoſe few that be there on my party, were not preſent when theſe matters were done, nor at this aſſembly. I will have them aſſemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they ſo much boaſt of, and keep none of them. They have ſent hither a poor Gentleman to me, who I diſdain to have come in the name of them all, to the King and me, in ſuch a legation. They have, quoth ſhe, ſent great perſonages to your Miſtreſs. I am their Sovereign, but they take me not ſo: They muſt be taught to know their duties. In this ſpeech the Queen uttered ſome choler and ſtomach againſt them. ELIZABETH.

I ſaid, as to the Lord of St. John's, I know him not; but he is great Prior of Scotland, and you know by others, what rank that eſtate hath, equal to any Earl within your realm.

The Queen anſwered, I do not take him for great Prior, for he is married; I marvel how it happeneth, that they could ſend other manner of men to the Queen your miſtreſs.

I ſaid, Madame, I have heard, that if your Majeſty proceed graciouſly with the Lord of St. John's, in obſervation of all that which was by the Biſhop of Vallence and Monſ. de Randan promiſed in the King and your names; the Nobles and State of Scotland doth mind to ſend hither unto the King and you, a greater legation.

Then the King and I, quoth ſhe, muſt begin with them.

Madame, quoth I, I am ſorry that the ratification of the treaty is refuſed for that matter, together with other injuries offered to the Queen my Miſtreſs, as (contrary to the expreſs articles of the treaty) the King and you do bear openly the arms of England, which will

ELIZABETH. give the Queen my Miſtreſs occaſion greatly to ſuſpect your well meaning unto her.

Mine uncles, quoth ſhe, have ſufficiently anſwered you in this matter: and for your part, I pray you do the office of a good Miniſter betwixt us, and ſo ſhall you do well; and ſo the Queen diſmiſſed me, and Monſ. de Lanſac brought me to my horſe.

Thus your Majeſty may perceive my negociation with this King, the Queens, the Cardinal, and the Duke of Guiſe, touching the ratification, the 15th of this preſent.

The Duke of Guiſe told me, that it was determined that Meſſrs. de Noailles, late Ambaſſador with your Majeſty, and de Croc, were they whom the King would ſend into Scotland.

As touching the occurrents of this Court, it may pleaſe your Majeſty to be advertiſed, that the King of Navarre being on his way to this Court, hath had letters, as I am informed, written unto him, of great good opinion conceived of him by this King, with all other kind of courteſies, to cauſe him to repair thither. Nevertheleſs, upon his coming, being accompanied with his brethren the Cardinal of Bourbon, and Prince of Condé, after they have done their reverence to the King and Queens, the Prince of Condé was brought before the Council, who committed him forthwith priſoner to the guard of Meſſrs. de Breſy and Chauveney, two Captains of the guard, and their companies of 200 archers. He remaineth cloſe in a houſe, and no man permitted to ſpeak with him; and his proceſs is in hand. And I hear he ſhall now be committed priſoner to the caſtle of Loches, the ſtrongeſt priſon in all this realm.

The King of Navarre goeth at liberty, but as it were a priſoner, and is every other day on hunting, and lieth out of the town at his pleaſure, and as it is judged, and as it ſeemeth indeed, beareth and alloweth his brother's handling.

The ſaid King hath ſince his coming hither, ſent one in poſt to Rome, to acknowledge his obedience to the Pope.

He

He ſhall, as it is ſaid, forego his Governorſhip of Guyenne, and the ſame ſhall be beſtowed upon Monſ. de Termes. ELIZABETH.

Madame de Boy, the Admiral of France his ſiſter, mother to the Princeſs of Condé, is taken and conſtituted priſoner.

It is ſaid, that the Viſdame of Chartres ſhall come to Orleans, where the Knights of the Order ſhall be aſſembled; and he thereupon is like to ſee the end of his proceſs.

I am informed, that the Prince of Condé, his * proceſs being in the hands of the Parliament of Paris, the Preſident and Council of the ſame have anſwered, that the Prince may not be judged by them, but by his Peers, becauſe he is of the blood Royal.

The Dutcheſs of Ferrara, mother to the Duke that now is, according to that I wrote heretofore to your Majeſty, is arrived at this Court, the 7th of this preſent, and was received by the King of Navarre, the French King's brethren, and all the great Princes of this Court.

Monſ. de Martigues hath of late been at Paris, and there committed himſelf to juſtice for manners' ſake, for the late outrage committed there by him. He had his pardon in his hands; he is now returned to the Court, very much made of, and waited upon, with above twenty of the braveſt and beſt Captains of France.

The French King mindeth to keep his eſtate here at Orleans, where all the armour is taken from the townſmen.

The Marſhal Termes is at Poictiers, with divers companies of men at arms; where alſo the townſmen be uſed, as they be at Orleans.

The Cardinal of Tournon being Legate for the Pope in France, is arrived here at Orleans, and is of the King's Privy Council.

At Bourdeaux, and in all places between this town and that, all is very quiet, notwithſtanding divers bruits to the contrary, and (as

* About the conſpiracy of Amboiſe.

ELIZABETH. one Swanne, a ſubject of your Majeſty's, informeth me, who came directly thence in poſt) all the ſea coaſts are furniſhed with men at arms, and ſoldiers, to what end no man knoweth.

The houſe of Guiſe practiſeth, by all the means they can, to make the Queen Mother Regent of France at this next aſſembly; ſo as they are like to have all the authority ſtill in their hands, for ſhe is wholly theirs.

It is ſaid, that the French King mindeth, with the time, to convert all his Abbeys into Commandaries of divers Orders, as there be in Spain.

It is ſaid, that Ferdinand of Auſtriche levieth men in Almain; but to what end I cannot learn.

The Rhinegrave remaineth ſtill in Almain, and goeth from one Prince to another. His being there is diverſly diſcourſed upon, conſidering the time of the year is unmeet for paſtime.

The Sophy is dead; his ſon hath conjoined himſelf with Bajazet the Turk's ſecond ſon, who having their forces together, are about to deprive the Turk and his eldeſt ſon of the empire, which news was ſo diſpleaſing to the Turk, as it is thought he is thereupon dead; and it is advertiſed from Venice, that he was in very great danger of his life, and could hardly eſcape.

The French King and his Court do remove hence the 19th of this preſent towards Semmceau, the Queen Mother's houſe, and mindeth not, as it is ſaid, to return hither before his eſtates be aſſembled.

Two ſons of Oconer, who have been in France theſe eight years, are lately diſpatched hence into Ireland, as I am informed. I doubt not but that there is good order, that they ſhall be able to do no hurt.

It is ſecretly talked here, that there is ſomewhat in hand, touching the iſles of Guernſey, Jerſey, and Scilly.

ELIZABETH.

There is an advertiſement come hither, from the French Agent in Flanders, that the Dutcheſs of Parma hath put to death, for the cauſe of religion, either two of your Majeſty's ſubjects, or elſe denizens being of Flanders. Whether it be true or not, I am not aſſured; but theſe men ſeem to be very glad of it, as I am well informed.

There is here arrived an Ambaſſador from the Duke of Savoy, named Monſ. de Moreto, who, as I underſtand, ſhall ſhortly repair into England, to ſpeak with your Majeſty from the ſaid Duke.

De Lignerol is alſo upon his diſpatch, if he be not already arrived in England before this bearer.

I am informed, that Charlebois ſhall come away from Dunbarre, and that Croc ſhall remain there in his ſtead.

The King of Spain hath kept divers of his Cortes, and is ſtill in following the ſame. He maketh ready one hundred galleys, as I am informed, and a good number of ſhips, and withal maketh preparation for an army. It is ſaid to be to renew his enterprize of Tripoli; but many do doubt, that they be for ſome other purpoſe.

The ſaid King oweth twenty-one millions of Ducats, as it is judged; and were it not, as it is ſaid, for his new Miniſter, he had been brought very low for money.

The Pope hath granted to the ſaid King, licence to ſell 50,000 Crowns of Spiritual Revenue, the profit whereof will riſe to, at the leaſt, two millions of crowns.

The ſaid King hath ſent in preſent to the French King, as I am informed, ſix very beautiful Jennets of Spain of his own; and hath ſuffered his ſervants to buy in Spain fifteen others of the moſt principal pieces that could be found.

The General Council is, by the order and conſent of the Pope, the Emperor, the Kings of France and Spain, appointed to be at Trent, where not only the ſaid Princes will aſſiſt by their Miniſters, but alſo the Kings of Portugal, Poland, and Navarre, with the States of Italy.

Monſieur

ELIZABETH.

Monſieur de Ferme, a Secretary of this Court, who went with Monſieur de Bourdezieve to Rome, is returned with the Pope's grant for the taking of an 100,000 Crowns of the Spiritual Revenues to be ſold. The conſideration of which grant, and the like to the King of Spain is (as I am informed) to the end, that the money made thereof be employed againſt the Proteſtants and heretics, as they term them.

Notwithſtanding the late treaty, your Majeſty's arms have been ſet up quartered, when the French King made his entry in St. Dennis, and were alſo in like ſort ſet up at the King's entry here, upon the town and Court gates, where they do ſtill remain in open ſhew to the world.

I am well informed, that the French King maketh reckoning to have of his ſuſpect towns and ſubjects, about three millions of franks, and his charge in going up and down, to puniſh his ſubjects, borne.

I am alſo credibly informed, that there be four ſhips of war in ſetting forth at Newhaven, which are ſaid to be for the voyage of Braſil, and that there be four others in Brittany, which are bruited to be for Peru.

A great Perſonage of this Court hath ſaid (as I am right well informed) that if the King had not thus been conſtrained to ſeek to chaſtiſe his ſubjects, your Majeſty's realm had ere this felt him.

I am informed, that the French King mindeth to make a citadel at Calais, which ſhall ſtretch to St. Peter's church, and that the haven ſhall be conveyed into the town.

I am alſo well advertiſed, that there is order given to Monſ. de Trez, Maſter of the Ordnance here, to convey to Calais both munition and artillery; and that the galleys ſhall be brought about, and remain there.

I am alſo informed, that becauſe the galleys ſhall be the better able to fight with ſhips, and to turn in their fight, that they have here deviſed

deviſed to make a part of them ſhorter, and to make a new mould of galleys. ELIZABETH.

I am informed, that one Hector Wentworth, an Engliſhman, who hath been here in France theſe twelve years, and ſpeaketh good French, being withal a proper man with an auburn beard, hath of late robbed (as it is reported by him) Capt. Boys, maſter of the camp, who was his maſter; and that he is thereupon fled into England. He lately before ſerved Charlebois, and was in Leith when it was beſieged. I have not before heard of him; but if none of your Majeſty's ſubjects heard of him at Leith, his being in England is much to be doubted; and therefore good heed is to be taken of him, if he may be found.

I am by very ſecret and credible means informed, that the French King hath taken up in Auvergne and Brittany, eight hundred oxen, which be part of them already in Normandy at feeding. This proviſion of victual in ſo great quantity in one place, giveth a ſhrewd likelihood, that they do in all places together make greater.

The Earl Bothwell ſhall be (as I am informed) diſpatched hence forthwith; he hath promiſed them here to do great things in Scotland, from whence he hath received lately great comfort by one who is come thence with great diligence by ſea.

I am advertiſed, that de Noailles, and de Croc, who, as it was told me, ſhould be ſent out of hand, ſhall not now be diſpatched of long time, if they be ſent at all; and that this matter is to no purpoſe, but to abuſe your Majeſty and the Scots both together.

I do alſo underſtand, that the French King hath ſent order to Marſeilles for the bringing about of eight galleys more.

Since the writing of this before, I underſtand that the Earl Bothwell is ſtaid from going into Scotland, and hath a preſent given him of ſix hundred Crowns, and is made Gentleman of the King's chamber, with the fee thereto belonging.

And

ELIZABETH.

And thus having none other occurrents to write preſently unto your Majeſty, I beſeech God long to preſerve the ſame, in health, honour, and all proſperity.

From Orleans, the 17th of Nov. 1560.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Secretary Cecil.

1560. Nov. 17th.

SIR,

I WISH, that others would, as you will, weigh theſe mens proceedings and my advertiſements, to be of more importance than news, and of more danger than not to be cared and provided for in time. Make your reckoning, theſe men will eſſay their fortune, and the King of Spain can be contented to ſuffer her Majeſty to fall into ſuch terms, as you muſt be driven to pray him to do with that ſtate and realm, what pleaſeth him: he accounteth you muſt needs come to that point, ſince you diſpleaſe all, and ſatisfy no party. I truſt there ſhall be ſuch ſeaſonable counſel given in time, as your enemies and ſuſpected friends ſhall be beguiled of the expectation they have of our calamity. The Lord of St. John's of Scotland, in his negociation, hath behaved himſelf very diſcreet and (as he is taken to be) like a ſincere gentleman. His behaviour hath been ſuch in his charge, as his country hath had good cauſe to be pleaſed with him, and the Queen's Majeſty no leſs, for her own particular affair. I pray you be a mean, that her Majeſty may allow well of his doings; and that he may find the ſame, when he cometh into

into England. I underſtand by letter that I lately received from Sir Thomas Chamberlain, of the 2d of this month, that he can obtain of the King of Spain as yet little favour, to keep one of his ſervants from the inquiſitor's apprehenſion. I ſay, that amity will prove to us worſe than enmity. Aſſuredly I fear him more than the French, and he will occaſion more inconveniency amongſt us. Let not her Majeſty be deceived, for ſurely he meaneth not well, whatſoever his Miniſter there doth make ſhew of. I think, notwithſtanding that theſe men did promiſe to ſend their Miniſters to ſatisfy her Majeſty for the ſtay of the ratification forthwith, you ſhall not hear of them theſe twenty days, as I have intelligence. Peradventure Monſ. de Sevre * ſhall ſay ſomewhat to retain you longer in hope, that the Spring may be advanced before you think of the matter. I am ſure this refuſal of the ratification doth trouble you there at home; but, will you know how it cometh to paſs? I will be ſhort in it. Firſt, to ſave their honour and intereſt, whereupon I know they were egged by the Spaniſh practice and Miniſters. Theſe occaſions did grow from themſelves; but theſe were not ſufficient. From thence they were to do thus by theſe reaſons animated; your haſty diſarming, and ſpecially of your navy; her Majeſty's great inclination to live in pleaſure and quietneſs, which they ſay they did many ways copy; that neither Counſellor nor conductor was rewarded; that all men, which did at this time ſervice, were diſpleaſed; that her Majeſty would do her own pleaſure in all things, ſo as there was none to take the ſpecial care of her affairs. And laſtly and chiefly, that they take it for truth and certain, that her Majeſty will marry the Lord Robert Dudley; whereby they aſſure themſelves, that all foreign alliance and aid is ſhaked off, and do expect more diſcontentation thereby amongſt yourſelves. Thus you ſee your ſore; God grant it do not with rankling feſter too far and too dangerouſly. Thus I

ELIZABETH.

* French Ambaſſador in England.

ELIZABETH. humbly take my leave of you. From Orleans the 17th of November, 1560.

Your's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

1560. Nov. 18th.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Secretary Cecil.

Mr. SECRETARY,

THIS Gentleman, bearer hereof, is ſent preſently from his Maſter, the Duke of Savoy, in legation to the Queen's Majeſty, to congratulate with her Highneſs for her happy avenement to the Crown. He ſaith, the unquietneſs in his Maſter's country, and his raw coming thither, after the late accord, have been cauſes, that this office hath been done no ſooner; his name is Monſ. de Morette, nephew and heir to old Morette, that hath been Ambaſſador from late King Francis, to King Henry VIII. well known to my Lord of Pembroke, and my Lord Marquis of Northampton, and to my Lord Admiral, and my Lord Chamberlain, and both to Mr. Wotton. This man was, in the late French King's days, Gentleman of his chamber, and ſince retired and ſettled at home in Piedmont.

Beſides this kindneſs of congratulation, he hath to break with her Majeſty, in the Duke his Maſter's name, for marriage with the Duke of Nemours, which, I perceive by communication paſſed betwixt us, he mindeth to ſet forth, if the matter be not too far paſſed at home, as all the bruit is here, that it is. For this Gentleman was told by the Pope's Ambaſſador here, that he ſhould come into England in good time to her Highneſs's marriage, with the maſter of her horſes. In caſe this Gentleman ſhall find her Majeſty at liberty

liberty from any ſuch thing, and that her Highneſs do ſhew any inclination to hear of this his overture; I perceive by him, as he ſaid, that the King of Spain and this King too, are ſo deſirous to have it take effect, that they will both travail, what they can, to bring it to paſs. Hereof I thought good to advertiſe you, as I have done the Queen's Majeſty, by my letter now unto her. ELIZABETH.

This Gentleman's good uſage, and good entertainment by all good means, I recommend unto you; he is a very good Courtier, and therefore knoweth what belongeth thereunto, and ſo will report as he findeth. And ſo I take my leave of you. From Orleans the 18th of November, 1560.

Your's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to the Queen.

1560. Nov. 28th.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty, ſince my letters to the ſame of the 17th of November, ſent by your ſervant, Mr. Jones, and others from me, of the 18th of the ſame, ſent by Monſ. de Morette, Ambaſſador from the Duke of Savoy to your Majeſty; I do underſtand that the Biſhop of Limoges, Ambaſſador from this King to the King Catholic, hath of late inſinuated to the ſaid King, that the Nobility and States of Scotland have very evil accompliſhed the late treaty accorded at Edinburgh, betwixt the ſaid King's Deputies and the States of Scotland; and much leſs performed their duties and obedience, which doth belong to good ſubjects: whereupon the ſaid Ambaſſador hath, on his Maſter's behalf, required the King of Spain to give the French King, his good brother, advice and counſel, how

ELIZABETH.

he ſhall intreat the ſaid Scots his ſubjects, and in what wiſe he may beſt by his counſel proceed with them. The King of Spain anſwered, doth the King my brother mean in this matter ſincerely? and doth he demand mine advice, as one, that would be by me adviſed? or doth he move this matter to prove what I would ſay to it? It was anſwered by the ſaid French Ambaſſador, that the King his Maſter meant ſincerely, and as one that deſired to have his good brother's advice and counſel in that matter. Then the King of Spain ſaid, I will ſend to mine Ambaſſador, reſident in France, to know of the King my brother, how he mindeth of himſelf to proceed with them, whether by force and reſtraint, or by other means.

Agreeable whereunto, Monſ. de Chantonet, Ambaſſador, reſident here, for the King Catholic, the 18th of this preſent, had audience of the French King, and did on his Maſter's behalf deſire to know, how and after what ſort this King did mind to proceed with his ſubjects of Scotland. It was anſwered by the French King and his Council, that he the French King did not mind to uſe force againſt them, if he might otherwiſe have them well ordered, and obedient ſubjects.

The 19th of this preſent, Monſ. de Chantonet, after his audience, did advertiſe me of the premiſes by his Secretary.

What this brotherly participation betwixt theſe Princes, of the Scottiſh affairs, doth mean; and to what end this kind communication of theſe matters will tend, I know not. But becauſe your Majeſty did, by your letters of the 19th of October, command me to advertiſe Sir Thomas Chamberlain, your Highneſs's Ambaſſador in Spain, what ſpeed I ſhould receive of theſe men, touching the ratification of the treaty, and of ſuch other things as ſhould ſeem to me meet for your Majeſty's further ſervice; I have advertiſed Sir Thomas Chamberlain, by my letter of the 20th of November, how I have

I have proceeded with theſe men, and how I am by them anſwered; whereby my whole doings may appear unto him at good length, with ſuch other things, as I thought convenient for him to know, meet for your Majeſty's ſervice; the copy of which my letter to the ſaid Sir Thomas Chamberlain, I have herewith ſent to your Majeſty, whereby the ſame may perceive at good length the particularities of this my whole diſpatch to your ſaid Ambaſſador in Spain.

It may like your Majeſty to be further advertiſed, that I have intelligence, that the King of Spain hath in great haſte given order to ſtay the five thouſand Spaniards in the Low Country; yea, though they be embarked, and upon the ſea, to revoke them, if it be poſſible, who ſhould have gone to Sicilia.

The Prince of Spain is ſtill ſick of his quartan, and judged not to be long lived. It is now ſaid that he ſhall be fianced to the Dowager of Portugal, his father's ſiſter, who (ſome think) ſhall come to be Regent in Flanders, after ſhe is ſo fianced.

The poſts do come apace and often of late, betwixt the French King and the King of Spain. Of late, (whatſoever the matter meaned) Monſ. de Chantonet would not ſuffer Gamboa, your Majeſty's penſioner, to ſpeak with me, who came to this town the 17th of this month, from Spain, in poſt, to paſs into Flanders, for ſo the ſaid Gamboa ſent me word.

Whereas in my letters of the 17th of this month, I did advertiſe your Majeſty, that the Earl Bothwell did not ſo ſoon return to his country; ſince that time the ſaid Earl is departed ſuddenly from this Court, to return into Scotland by Flanders, and hath made boaſt, that he will do great things, and live in Scotland, in the deſpite of all men.

He is a glorious, raſh, and hazardous young man; and therefore it were meet his adverſaries ſhould both have an eye to him, and alſo keep him ſhort.

This

ELIZABETH.

This King, by an indiſpoſition, that he hath found in himſelf, within theſe three or four days, ſince my laſt letters to your Majeſty of the 18th of this month, hath reſolved, at the diſpatch hereof, not to ſtir from this town, until the Aſſembly of the Eſtates be paſt.

I have herewith ſent to your Majeſty, a letter that Sir Thomas Chamberlain, your Ambaſſador in Spain, did lately ſend to me.

The Lord Seton had his diſpatch from hence the 22d of this month, and had eight hundred franks paid him of the arrearages of his penſion due to him, for being Gentleman of the King's Chamber; and for the ſatisfaction of his money diſburſed by him for their proviſions at Leith, and for ſuch other neceſſaries as he did then furniſh them of, he hath aſſignation upon the Queen's domain in Scotland. This King and Queen hath alſo given him in reward, an abbey in the north part of Scotland, which is thought, if he may enjoy it, will be worth to him yearly four thouſand Crowns of the Sun. When the ſaid Lord Seton did take his leave of the French King, the King thanked him for his good and faithful ſervice done unto him, and did aſſure him to reward him liberally for it; and ſo hath the ſaid King aſſured him, that ſuch in Scotland as have, from the higheſt to the loweſt, offended him, and the Queen his wife, ſhall know and feel what it is to be diſobedient ſubjects to ſuch a great Prince.

The Lord of St. John's weighing the refuſal of the ratification, the ſtate and maniment of the affairs of his own country, and conſidering theſe men's determinations, together with ſuch intelligences, as he hath of the French's intents towards them in Scotland, did lately require me to recommend unto your Majeſty the ſpecial care and order of their affairs in Scotland. For, ſaid he unto me, unleſs the Queen your miſtreſs do order and manage our matters, conſidering the time and terms that we ſtand in, we be utterly undone; and conſequently great danger and peril will after enſue to her realm.

For, ſaid he, unleſs her Majeſty direct us, and put ſubſtantial order amongſt us, we ſhall among ourſelves fall aſunder, and ſo bring upon us great confuſion; and ſuch is our caſe and danger, as it requireth no delay.

The Lord Seton hath a letter from the French Queen to your Majeſty, and hath alſo in charge to preſent unto your Highneſs the ſaid Queen's picture, as I hear.

Theſe men do much depend, among others, upon the advice of one Henry Sencler in Scotland, for the Lord Seton hath letters from hence, to the ſaid Sencler.

It may pleaſe your Majeſty to be further advertiſed, that the ſtate of the Prince of Condé his proceſs, at the diſpatch hereof, was in theſe terms: The King had ſent his Chancellor and ſundry Preſidents, together with others of his learned Council, to the ſaid Prince, to examine him, three or four times. The Prince would never anſwer them to any interrogations, but refuſed them all, as inſufficient to examine him; ſaying, that the knowledge of his cauſe did not appertain to men of their quality; for being a Prince of the blood, he ſaid, his proceſs was to be adjudged either by the Princes of the blood, or by the twelve Peers; and therefore willed the Chancellor and the reſt to trouble him no further.

The King of Navarre's Chancellor is taken priſoner, and is looked for to be brought hither every day. Monſ. de Jarnac did take him in the ſaid Chancellor's own houſe in Guyenne, whereat many do much marvel, the ſaid Jarnac being always eſteemed well affected to the King of Navarre.

The Abbot of St. Saluce returned from Bruſſels by this Court to Rome; he had conference with the Cardinal of Lorrain of your Majeſty; and, as I underſtand, made here a very lewd diſcourſe of your Majeſty, of your religion, of the fruits thereof, and of your proceedings. He tarried here eight days, and departed hence towards Rome the 20th of this preſent.

I am

ELIZABETH.

I am credibly advertiſed, that one named Villemort, ſervant to the late Dowager of Scotland, hath advertiſed hither, that Inſkeith in Scotland muſt be better manned, that it may be upon all events, and in deſpight of all men kept, and rather than fail, to put the ſoldiers of Dunbar into the ſaid Inſkeith, if they cannot otherwiſe furniſh it with men; for the keeping of that iſle is of ſuch moment, as having that, the French may, when it pleaſeth them, take what place they like, upon either ſide of the Firth.

Whereas I have written above, that the Lord Seton ſhould bring a letter to your Majeſty, from the French Queen, and therewith her picture; the ſaid Lord Seton departing hence the 22d of this month, left his ſervant behind at the Court, to bring after him his diſpatch to Paris. In the end his ſervant hath been anſwered, that the ſaid French Queen will neither write at this time to your Majeſty, nor ſend her picture, excuſing that the ſame is not yet made; which the ſaid Lord Seton taketh in very evil part, and will cauſe him to be a worſe Frenchman, and a better Scottiſhman.

I am well advertiſed, that the 25th of this month, aſſignation was given out, for the payment of twenty-five thouſand franks, for the uſe of the galleys at Nantz.

It is ſaid that the Duke of Savoy hath fortified a place in Savoy named Salviano; and hath with certain Proteſtant Cantons in Swiſſe made a league, which doth ſomewhat offend theſe men. But in the mean time the Duke doth that which is meet for him.

The Lord of St. John's had his diſpatch here the 26th of this month; he took not his leave of the King by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, but of the Queen and Cardinal of Lorrain, he had very good words, and was required to uſe the part and office of a good Miniſter towards the eſtates of Scotland, and of a good ſubject towards his Sovereigns. He hath a letter from the King and Queen to the ſaid eſtates; the copy whereof I ſend your Majeſty herewith.

with. And so I pray God long to preserve your Majesty in health, honour, and all felicity. From Orleans the 28th of November, 1560. ELIZABETH.

Your Majesty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Secretary Cecil.

1560. Nov. 28th.

SIR,

THIS bearer, Alexander Clarke, Gentleman of Scotland, of whom you have heard often in my letters, and not so often as he hath deserved, hath gotten leave to go into his country, for such purposes as he will declare unto you: somewhat I have written to her Majesty thereof by him; his service done to the Queen's Majesty hath been such, as I am sorry to miss him for that respect. But I am the less sorry, for that his being in Scotland cannot but be to very good purpose, as the occasions of these men's practices be offered presently. I am sure you shall be made privy of that I have written to her Majesty, and therefore need not reiterate it again. As for other particularities, he is sufficient, and instructed to satisfy you at large. I do most heartily recommend him unto you; his deserts have been great, and his intent and means to deserve more, is worthy to be liberally considered, and well looked on. I have also besought her Majesty to consider him both for the past, and for his and others better encouraging to continue. It may please you to help forth the matter, so as he may know and feel whom he hath served; and also that my recommendation in his behalf doth work for him, as he may of good right challenge at my hands. Indeed

ELIZABETH.

this journey of his at this time doth more riſe of my device, than of his particular motion; albeit, I am contented if it be otherwiſe coloured. There ſhall hardly be any thing there by the French faction practiſed, but he ſhall know it. His further ordering I refer to your good judgment. If it pleaſe the Queen's Majeſty to ſpeak with him, it muſt be done with great ſecrecy, leſt the French there know of it. He accompanieth thither the Lord Seton, and meaneth to make the court to the French Ambaſſador with ſhew of offers and ſervice to be done to their Prince, for ſo he muſt go to work; and yet his nature is ſo honeſt, as he can very hardly diſſemble. I have at his requeſt given him a memorial of my opinion, how to will the Lords in his country to proceed preſently, conſidering the time, the ſtate, and the terms of their affairs, which I have willed him to ſhew you, to be ordered and altered as you think good. Sir, at the diſpatch hereof I had not heard from the Court ſince the 19th of October. This Prince is ſick, and very caſual; and thereupon dependeth great matter, and here aſſure you the diſcourſe is made thereafter. Thus I humbly take my leave of you. From Orleans the 28th of November, 1560.

Your's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

ELIZABETH.
1560.
Nov. 28th.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to the Queen.

IT may pleaſe your Majeſty, this bearer, Alexander Clarke, Gentleman of Scotland, one of the archers of the guard of corps, of whom your Majeſty hath oftentimes, by my letters, and by others credit, ſent from hence, heard of, having gotten leave to return into Scotland, I cannot but moſt humbly recommend to your Majeſty. He hath ſtood me in ſuch ſtead for your Majeſty's ſervice (as partly Mr. Kyllegrew doth well know), that I could not well have been without him, nor your Majeſty well ſpared the ſervice that he hath here done; the ſame hath been no common ſervice. His diligence and painfulneſs, without regard of hazard to himſelf, hath well tried his faithfulneſs to the advancement principally of your affairs, and the liberty and benefit of his own country. I can more and better teſtify of him, than I can write in his commendation. He goeth now into Scotland, and partly being vehemently ſuſpected, as a principal doer in theſe late ſtirs here (and therefore the worſe looked on), and ſo mindeth not to hazard himſelf in that ſuſpicion, but by his abſence for a time, if it may be, to bury it, and partly being by me procured ſo to do, for the better ſervice of your Majeſty in thoſe parts, doth at this time make this voyage. The cauſe thereof is, the French I perceive intend, and are in hand with great practices there, to work their purpoſe, as to win ſome and to ſow diſcord betwixt others, ſpecially to breed diſſenſion betwixt the Earl of Arran and the Lord James * and his favourers, by means whereof he ſhall be able to do much good betwixt them: he is alſo in good credit with Lord Seton, and ſo ſhall he ſee always into his doings and practices, and likewiſe by that means into the French faction's workings: he ſhall be able to overſee more of their doings than another of more appearance: the colour he hath to return with the Lord Seton, is to good

* Afterwards Earl of Murray, and Regent.

ELIZABETH.

purpoſe for many reſpects, ſo as thereby your Majeſty may be from time to time truly advertiſed of all the ſecret workings of the French Miniſters in Scotland, in having order and means how to ſend. Such a Miniſter of truſt is to be made of. I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to have conſideration of him and of his deſerts, that he may know and feel whom he hath ſerved, and alſo with the better will to continue his good heart and devotion towards your Majeſty, which your goodneſs, I truſt, ſhall be well employed. It may pleaſe your Majeſty, I being determined to make this diſpatch the 23d of this month, was occaſioned to ſtay the ſame until the date hereof; ſince which time I underſtand this King's ſickneſs doth ſo ſucceed, as men do begin to doubt of his long laſting. The conſtitution of his body is ſuch, as the phyſicians do ſay he cannot be long-lived: and thereunto he hath by his too timely and inordinate exerciſe now in his youth, added an evil accident; ſo as there be that do not let to ſay, though he do recover this ſickneſs, he cannot live two years; whereupon there is plenty of diſcourſes here of the French Queen's ſecond marriage; ſome talk of the Prince of Spain, ſome of the Duke of Auſtrich, others of the Earl of Arran.

Thus Almighty God long preſerve your Majeſty in health, honour, and all felicity. From Orleans the 28th of November, 1560.

The Duke of Florence arrived at Court the 5th of this month; his train is ſaid to be eight hundred horſe. Of that his ſo ſudden voyage, here be very many and ſundry diſcourſes.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

ELIZABETH.
1560.
Nov. 29th.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Secretary Cecil.

SIR,

HOWSOEVER others be inclined to give ear to theſe mens delays, and to be pleaſed to be brought into ſome expectation by their new ſending of new Commiſſioners thither firſt, and from thence into Scotland, there to aſſemble a new Parliament; I truſt you be too wiſe to be with ſuch toys ſo carried away, or to be adviſed by thoſe dealings; but I am ſure you ſee ſo far into the matter, as there is no cauſe why any body ought to look for a better iſſue now, than at the laſt aſſembly, which was done by this King and Queen's authority, as appeareth by expreſs words in the laſt accord made with the eſtates of Scotland. And I am ſure you be too well experimented to think that Noailles, late Ambaſſador in England, one of the Maſters of the Requeſts, and the ſame in no great grace here, and Le Croc, a Gentleman, ſervant to the King and Queen, ſhould have a greater truſt and authority committed to them, to proceed abſolutely in this matter, or that more truſt, credit and expectation of promiſe-keeping, and ratification of the treaty, ſhould be looked for at their hands, or by their means, than there was at the end-making, by a Biſhop of this King's Privy Council (as Monſ. de Vallence * was), or of Monſ. de Randan, then Gentleman of the Chamber, and Captain of fifty men and arms, and now Knight of the Order. And beſides the ſtate and circumſtances of the cauſe and handling of it, which I truſt you do thoroughly conſider; I will at this time ſay no more to perſuade you to do that, which is in this caſe meet to be done; but tell you, that theſe men do all with ſecrecy, ſpeed, and policy, give order by hook or by crook, to man, victual, and reinforce the places they hold in Scotland. Sir,

* Monluc.

I pray

ELIZABETH. I pray you diſpatch H. Middlemore, my ſteward, unto me with the next letters; for I may very evil be ſo long without him. The Lord James, the baſtard of Scotland, would be in time there in his own country ſomewhat recompenſed either of ſome Abbey or of ſome penſion, ſome eccleſiaſtical promotion, in recompence of his penſions here reſtrained: for the which he hath of late made means here. This old ſaying is a true ſaying, *Munera fævos illaqueant duces:* if the allotment of his recompence might be ſo uſed, as the Earl of Arran might be ſeen to be the principal doer thereof, it would in my opinion do no harm. Thus I humbly take my leave of you. From Orleans the 29th November, 1560.

Yours, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

After my ſimple judgment, her Majeſty and her Council muſt be as careful for the well ordering of Scotland at this preſent, as the ſame and they be for the well governing of Ireland or Wales. And upon all events, that matters may be ſo managed, as England may make their *

* The concluding part of this ſentence is not decyphered.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to the Queen.

1560. Nov. 29th.

IT may like your Majeſty to underſtand, That ſince the date and diſpatch of my letters of the 28th of November to your Highneſs, I have been credibly aſcertained, that the French King hath diſpatched two from hence ſuddenly for Scotland, with charge to uſe all their beſt means with the King's aſſured there, and other, that by practice, diſguiſing, and whatſoever devices may beſt ſerve for that purpoſe, to put out of hand, and with great ſecrecy, as much victuals, as many men, and neceſſaries belonging thereunto, into Dunbar and Inſkeith in Scotland, as may be done. What their names are, I cannot yet learn; whether they all go by ſea, or paſs through England, or embark by Flanders, I know not. But it is told me, that two ſhips are ready at Dieppe, to go thither, as merchants laden wares, and go without ſhew, and yet not unprovided of as much munition as may be carried without open knowledge. It is like enough, that theſe two may go that way. This matter being worthy the looking unto; I refer to your Majeſty's good and grave judgment, to be conſidered, whereof I thought neceſſary to advertiſe the ſame.

Whereas the Lord James, Baſtard of Scotland, had, out of a Biſhopric and Abbey of this country, a yearly penſion of 2,500 crowns; he hath made ſuit to this King and Queen, to have not only the arrearages of the ſame, ſince it hath been ſtaid, but alſo the continuation thereof. The Queen hath made him anſwer, that like as this his falling from his duty hath been cauſe of the ſtay thereof, and deſerveth his exemption from the ſame; ſo his demerits again towards her is the only way to purchaſe her favour, and the ſaid penſion, which, if he accompliſh according to the truſt ſhe hath of

ELIZABETH. him, he ſhall not only be ſure of his ſatisfaction, but alſo of all the good favour that may be ſhewed him, beſides his penſion, whether he diſpoſe himſelf to be eccleſiaſtical or temporal.

The name of one of them, that is now ſent into Scotland, is named Pellegrin. At the diſpatch hereof I underſtand, that there is great lamentation at the Court, for the French King, of whoſe recovery they begin to miſtruſt. In my ſimple opinion, it ſhall not be good to make any of the Scots privy to the danger that this King is in. And thus I pray God long to preſerve your Majeſty in health, honour, and all felicity. From Orleans the 29th of November, 1560.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

1560. Decem. 1ſt.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to the Queen.

IT may like your Majeſty, ſince my letters of the 29th of November to your Majeſty, wherein I advertiſed your Highneſs, of the French King's ſtate in his ſickneſs, I underſtand, that he is ſomewhat amended, but yet very weak, and ſo feeble, as he was not able to keep the feaſt of the Golden Fleece, on St. Andrew's day, whereof he is Knight; and now the phyſicians miſtruſt no danger of his life for this time.

And whereas in the ſame letter I wrote to your Highneſs, that the French Queen was not then minded to ſend your Majeſty her picture, nor letter, which ſhe had erſt promiſed, as I advertiſed your Highneſs by my letter of the 28th of the laſt; I underſtand now, that ſhe hath given order, that my Lord Seton ſhall both bring

bring a letter from her to your Majesty, and also her picture. Whether it come of her better mood, or by the said Lord Seton's importune suit, to have the carrying thereof to your Highness, I know not. I understand, that the French King hath pressed two and thirty captains, they to be ready with their bands upon the next warning. And thus I pray God long to preserve your Majesty in health, honour, and all felicity. From Orleans the 1st of December, 1560.

Your Majesty's, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

Sir Nicholas Throkmorton to Secretary Cecil.

1560. Decem. 1st.

SIR,

GOOD accord and unity to be had among all the States of Scotland, is to be maintained and conserved. But if the Devil will cast a bone among them, the Earl of Arran's amity, and his friends, be most fit for England, for many respects; and he, in mine opinion, if he be wise, or well counselled, must needs be English again; for if he see deeply into the world, and into his own case, that must be his best reckoning; and therefore at all events, if the Scots do now, upon the refusal of the treaty, resolve to seize into their own hands and custody Inskeith and Dunbar, and to put out all the Frenchmen from thence (as methink of reason and necessity they ought to do), then the custody of the same two places would be committed to the guard of some wise and fit men of the country, and such as be wholly at the Deputy of Edinburgh's devotion; for thereby if

ELIZABETH. some turn their coats, and fall to catch that catch may, the said Earl being ours, we shall not make the worst end for ourselves. For all the country on this side the rivers of Clyde and Firth, shall be at the Queen's Majesty's devotion, which if you will consider, is no evil frontier, and thereby also may the better order her realm of Ireland; but these matters must be cunningly handled. This bearer Alexander Clarke, will disclose unto you, if the Lord Seton keep promise with him, some folk, that are to be looked to, who are the intelligence givers to the French.

From Orleans the 1st of December, 1560.

Yours, &c.

N. THROKMORTON.

No. VIII.

Mr. Jones to Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, Ambaſſador in France.

[This is an extremely curious letter, and, together with the others, in which the Queen's marriage with Lord Robert Dudley is mentioned, plainly ſhews the general opinion, both at home and abroad, of her inclination that way. Indeed Elizabeth herſelf does not diſclaim it.]

SIR,

WITH all the diligence I could make, I arrived not at the Court here till Monday at night, the 25th of November, at what time I delivered my letters to Mr. Secretary, and attending all the next day upon him, I ſpake not with the Queen's Majeſty till Wedneſday at night at Greenwich, whither ſhe came to bed from Eltham, when ſhe dined and hunted all that day with divers of my Lords.

From the Original in the Poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.

I had declared unto Mr. Secretary, before I ſpake with her, the day after my arrival, the diſcourſe of the Lord of St. John's, and your Lordſhip's opinion, touching the declaration in French, which he willed me to put in writing, as I did; Mr. Secretary ſhewed both the ſame to the Queen's Majeſty, as her Highneſs in my talk with her told me, and a third perſon knew the ſame, but how, I know not. I will tell your Lordſhip the ſtory, and then you may gueſs at it. There was occaſion, as your Lorſhip knoweth, in the

ELIZABETH.

diſcourſe, to ſpeak of the delivery of the letters to the French King and Queen in the favour of the Earl of Arran, and of that the French Queen ſaid, the Queen's Majeſty would marry the Maſter of her horſes. The 26th of November all my Lords of the Council dined at the Scotch Ambaſſador's lodging, where they were very highly feaſted. I repaired thither to ſhew myſelf to my Lords, where, after I had attended half dinner time, my Lord Robert roſe up, and went to the Court, and in the way ſent a gentleman back to will me to repair thither after him, as I did, after I had declared the meſſage to Mr. Secretary. Being come unto him, he aſked me, whether the French Queen had ſaid that the Queen's Majeſty would marry her horſe-keeper, and told me he had ſeen all the diſcourſe of your Lordſhip's proceedings, together with the intelligence, and that Mr. Secretary told him, that the French Queen had ſaid ſo. I anſwered, that I ſaid no ſuch matter. He laid the matter upon me ſo ſtrong, as the author thereof being avowed, I would not deny, that the French Queen had ſaid, that the Queen would marry the Maſter of her horſes. This was all he ſaid to me, and he willed me, that I ſhould in no caſe let it be known to Mr. Secretary, that he had told me thus much, as I have not indeed, nor mean not to do; whereby I judge, that Mr. Secretary did declare it only to the Queen, at whoſe hands my Lord Robert had it. The ſame night I ſpake to Mr. Killigrew, and having delivered your Lordſhip's letter and told him of the intelligence; he ſaid in the end unto me, with, as it were, a ſad look, I think verily, that my Lord Robert ſhall run away with the hare, and have the Queen; to whom I anſwered nothing. Thus much I thought good to write before I came to ſpeak of my proceeding with the Queen's Majeſty.

The 27th, I ſpake with her Majeſty at Greenwich, at ſix o'clock at night, and declared unto her the talk of the Ambaſſadors of Spain and Venice, and the Marquis *, and your advice, touching the General

* Of Northampton.

Council.

ELIZABETH.

Council *. When I had done with the firſt point of my firſt tale, By my troth, ſaid ſhe, I thought it was ſuch a matter, and he need not have ſent you hither, for it had been more meet to have kept you there ſtill. I ſaid, that if it had been written in cypher, it muſt have come to the knowledge of ſome others. Of nobody, ſaid ſhe, but of my Secretary; or elſe he might have written it in my own cypher. When I came to touch nearer the quick, I have heard of this before, quoth ſhe, and he need not to have ſent you withal: I ſaid, that the care you had was ſo great, as you could not but advertiſe her Majeſty of ſuch things † as might touch her, and that you took this to be no matter to be opened, but to herſelf. When I came to the point that touched his race ‡, which I ſet forth in as vehement terms as the caſe required, and that the Duke's ‖ hatred was rather to her than to the Queen her ſiſter; ſhe laughed, and forthwith turned herſelf to the one ſide and to the other, and ſet her hand upon her face. She thereupon told me, that the matter § had been tried in the country **, and found to be contrary to that which was reported, ſaying that he was then in the Court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's houſe; and that it fell out as ſhould neither touch his honeſty nor her honour. Quoth ſhe, my Ambaſſador knoweth ſomewhat of my mind in theſe matters. She heard me very patiently, I think the rather becauſe I made, before I ſpake unto her Majeſty, a long proteſtation, as methought I had need to do, conſidering that my Lord Robert knew thereof as much as he did. Her Majeſty promiſed me *fidem, taciturnitatem, & favorem*, the laſt whereof I found towards myſelf, but as for your Lordſhip, ſhe not once made mention of you unto me, unleſs that

* That the Queen ſhould ſend thither.
† Of the talk in France of her marriage.
‡ Lord Robert Dudley's.
‖ Of Northumberland.
§ This relates to the report of Lord Robert's having his wife privately murdered.
** Probably Coroner's Inqueſt.

once

ELIZABETH. once or twice ſhe aſked, whether your Lordſhip willed me to declare this matter unto her, as I affirmed you did. Thus much have I thought good to write, touching the Ambaſſador of Spain's talk. For * the Venetian Ambaſſador's talk, ſhe proteſted, that ſhe never to any Ambaſſador or other, diſcloſed any and nobody but Mr. Secretary knew of theſe matters; who was, ſhe ſaid, wiſe enough. When I rehearſed the terms of *veneficii & maleficii reus*; ſhe cauſed me to repeat the ſame twice or thrice, which methought did move her more than that I ſaid touching the Ambaſſador of Spain's talk. For the Marquis, ſhe believed the firſt part, touching his affection towards her; and for the laſt of that he reported, touching her Majeſty's diſcourſe with him for the not marrying of any other ſubjects, ſhe affirmed unto me, that it was never ſpoken unto him, touching any ſuch matter.

Touching the Council at Trent, and the confederation, and therein touching the Scots and Almains, ſhe ſaid, that the Scots were *populus ſine capite*, but the *others* † and her Majeſty heard one from another, and that ſhe did make aſſured account of them. Nevertheleſs there was none named unto me; but how ſecret that matter is made, it may appear by the Italian fool, who, upon provocation, talked openly of the ſame, and deviſed upon the means of ſending, even as I had debated the ſame with the Queen's Majeſty. I did recommend unto the Queen's Majeſty ſuch as ſpake with me before my departure thence, and ſuch others as your Lordſhip commanded me, the ſervices of whom her Majeſty took in right gracious part, as her Majeſty ſaid, ſhe would wiſh to be known. I mean Mr. Cavalcanti; and for Mr. Clarke, I ſet out as much his ſervice in France, as ability to ſerve in Scotland; though I did not preſs the ſame, being moved to it by that I perceived ſomewhat, the Queen's Majeſty's diſpoſition for Scotland very cold. She ſaid, ſhe did not know him, but

* It ſhould ſeem, that all theſe talks related to Lord Robert. † The Germans.

that ſhe was glad to hear of his ſervice. I ſpake unto her Majeſty, touching Noailles; of the ſtrait league between the French King and the King of Spain; and of the practice of their diviſion of the two realms between them.

And as for Calais, I had good reaſon to perſuade the Queen's Majeſty that it ſhould never be reſtored; for Mr. Bourdin hath 700 acres of ground in the country, and will build there; and one hath built already without the town as much as hath coſt 3000 crowns; and they mind to perfect their huge fortifications out of hand; with divers other matters, which I learned by reaſon of my long tarrying there againſt my will, by want of wind and good paſſage.

The Queen's Majeſty looketh not ſo hearty and well as ſhe did, by a great deal; and ſurely the matter of my Lord Robert doth much perplex her, and it is never like to take place, and the talk thereof is ſomewhat ſlack, as generally miſliked, but of the ſetters forth thereof, who are as your Lordſhip knoweth.

My Lords, for the moſt part, as Pembroke, Clinton, Bedford, Northampton (who have told me ſo much themſelves), do like well your Lordſhip's letters and advertiſements at this time, and ſeem to be careful for the due conſideration of them, and yet none of them have queſtioned with me, to know any further of them. I doubt, pleaſure and paſtime, with their attendants, and the folly of ſome who ſeem to make court to them whom they miſlike, will either mar all, or hinder all.

I have declared unto Mr. Secretary, what your Lordſhip thinketh of the General Council, who wiſhed I had not told the Queen's Majeſty a matter * of ſuch weight, being too much he ſaid for a woman's knowledge.

I told him alſo in whoſe behalf I had ſpoken to the Queen's Majeſty, and of all other matters, ſaving of the two Ambaſſadors talk. He heareth what I have to ſay very favourably, but aſketh

* It was probably about ſending to the Council of Trent from hence.

me

ELIZABETH.

me no further touching any matter. I am ſorry to ſee how he is troubled; and as if, meſeemeth, overwhelmed with buſineſs; but all lighteth upon him without any aſſiſtance. He looked for more, and aſked me, whether I had not brought him any other letters from your Lordſhip.

Mr. Secretary was in hand with me to know, whether I brought not two letters to the Queen's Majeſty; for, he ſaid, the letter he received from the Queen's Majeſty back again, was not ſo thick as when he delivered it: I told him I knew not, for I made not up the packet.

Mr. Treaſurer * received your Lordſhip's letter very thankfully, but when I went from him, and he had read it over, he was clean changed, and not over-courteous. He fell ſick the next day, ſo as I could not ſpeak unto him, and I do well know that letter and the matter of the other were the occaſion of his evil. He is half aſhamed of his doing for the Lord Robert.

My Lord Admiral is very diligent in his charge; two new ſhips be now making of great burden, and other veſſels ſhall be made to meet with the gallies.

Religion is neglected; all men diſcontented; no man conſidered; Captains ſell their harneſs; and every man is for himſelf.

The Queen's Majeſty ſtayeth the creation. The bills were made for the purpoſe, at the day appointed. When they were preſented, ſhe with a knife cut them aſunder. I can by no means learn, and yet I have talked with ſuch as know much, that my Lord Robert's matters will not go, as was looked for; and yet the favours be great which are ſhewed him at the Queen's Majeſty's hands.

The Scots Lords have been feaſted ſumptuouſly at my Lord of Pembroke's, where I dined among them. They have been alſo at my Lord of Bedford's. As far as I can learn among the Scottiſh

* Sir Thomas Parry.

men,

men, if their alliance be not more eſtabliſhed than ſome here would, that favour the Lord Robert, which be very and leſs honeſt, they ſhall be conſtrained, to ſave their necks, and to win the French favour again, to turn their coats, which doth not a little grieve them. The Scotch cauſe doth like well, ſo far as I can learn, my Lords of the Council, and the doings there in France bring the matter to a neceſſity. I dare not adviſe your Lordſhip to do any thing; but I judge that thoſe things confirmed of every hand, may work a miracle, and I can ſee no other, but that we here ſtay much upon your Lordſhip's judgment; and though the conſideration of things be great, yet undoubtedly there is great want; and will ſay no more. ELIZABETH. 1560.

Mr. Middlemore, as Mr. Secretary ſhewed me, ſhall be diſpatched before me. I truſt not to be long after, rather to ſatisfy my duty, than for any hope I have to be otherwiſe conſidered. I humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to excuſe me that I have written no ſooner; for it was ſo long ere I could ſpeak with the Queen's Majeſty, and I ſpake with none before her, but Mr. Secretary, as I could not write how I had proceeded, and your Lordſhip to be aſſured, that I have not paſſed my commiſſion in any one point of my charge. The laſt of November, 1560.

Your's, &c.

R. J. JONES.

ELIZABETH. 1561.

No. IX.

From the Originals in the Poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.

Letters from Sir William Cecil, and from the Earl of Bedford, to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Ambaſſador in France.

[In the letters from Cecil, the reader will have ample proofs of his wiſdom, integrity, and moderation. It is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to explain the cauſe of the diſſatisfaction of this great Stateſman. The Queen his Miſtreſs (as Sir Robert Cecil truly ſays of her, in a letter printed in *Nugæ antiquæ*) "was "ſometimes more than a man, and ſometimes leſs than a woman." But the defects in her character and temper, though conſiderable, ſhould not detract from her real merit; and ſhe will deſervedly remain one of the greateſt Sovereigns that ever filled the Engliſh throne.]

May, 1561. *From Sir William Cecil, to Sir N. Throckmorton.*

SIR,

WE ſhall now ſhortly ſee whether my Lady your wife's journey, ſhall be to fetch you home or no; for upon anſwer made to Dr. Somer by the Scotts Queen, you may boldly write to the Queen's Majeſty for your return according to her Majeſty's former anſwer. But, to ſay the truth, who ſhall ſucceed, for your ſervice of the Queen's Majeſty? Mr. Knolles hath been much ſpoken of; but two things may yet be required in him, although he have good furniture of the beſt, that is outward hability of wealth, and

and acquaintance in ſuch public affairs, ſo mixed with divers practices as theſe be. Here hath been no ſmall ado to refuſe this Popiſh Meſſenger; not that any counſellor was outwardly unwilling, but no man was found ſo earneſt and bold as to adventure the adviſing of ſuch as were of other minds. This Biſhop of Aquila * had won more with former preludes than was eaſy to overtake; but in the end, thanked be God, he findeth all his conceptions and practices unjointed, and under foot. What he will do to recover them I cannot tell. My Lord of Suſſex is ready to depart into Ireland, and ſhall, I truſt, proceed with a poſting againſt Shane Oneyle. The Earl of Kildare is now here, and hath his friends alſo here, as you know; and, I think, for underſtanding of the truth, there will be ſome coupling betwixt them in argument, the Iriſh Earl to deprave the other's governance; and the other (if he be ſo preſſed) to charge thoſe laſt in ſervice. ELIZABETH. 1561.

I find that I am taken to be drawn againſt the Earl of Ireland; but, ſurely, I confeſs to you, I will know both, before I ſtand to any ſide. Although I ſee no cauſe but to lean with our Engliſh governance againſt ſuch as always have ſought, and of courſe will ſeek, to ſhake off from their necks our regiment.

The Conſuls of Hamburgh have written to the Queen's Majeſty touching the ſtay of her armour, and affirm it to be done by commandment of the Princes, in reſpect of an information given that it was to be ſent into Muſcovia; and therefore upon her Majeſty's aſſertion that it is not ſo, they will deliver it. Whereupon her Majeſty hath written thanks to them, with blaming ſuch ſlanders of her, and avowed her property and meaning.

I underſtand that this was a malicious practice of this Biſhop here, by means of Lazarus Vanſwenden; ſuch is their hollow meaning towards us. If the marriage that way hath paſs, we muſt

* The Spaniſh Ambaſſador in England.

ELIZABETH. 1561.

enter a reciproque amytye that ways, wherein I would ye ſhould bethink yourſelf. To end; the Queen's Majeſty, I aſſure you, taketh your laſt writing in right good part, and willed me to require you that ſome goldſmith there might be induced indirectly to come hither with furniture of agrets, chains, bracelets, &c. to be bought both by herſelf, and by the Ladies here, to be gay in this Court, towards the progreſs. What is meant in it I know not; whether for that which many look for, or for the coming in of the Swede; but, as for me, I can ſee no certain diſpoſition in her Majeſty to any marriage; and any other likelihood doth not the principal here find, which cauſeth him to be perplexed.

May 1561. Your's, ye know,

W. CECIL.

From the Same to the Same.

1561. July 14th.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH this may ſeem an unlooked-for reſolution to you, conſidering the courſe of your writing, to have all courteſy ſhewed to D'Oyſel, and ſo conſequently the Scottiſh Queen better ſatisfied, yet it hath ſo fallen out here, that, although in all other things D'Oyſel hath been well and gently uſed, yet ſo many reaſons have induced us to deny the principal requeſt * that I think it ſhall be both of the wiſe allowed, and of our friends in Scotland moſt welcome.

The very noiſe of D'Oyſel's coming had ſtirred ſome maze in ſundry heads, and the expectation of the Queen's coming had erected

* The principal requeſt was, that the Queen of Scots might croſs the ſeas into Scotland, upon Elizabeth's ſafe-conduct.

up

ELIZABETH. 1561.

up Huntly, Bothwell, Hume, and others, that it could not be agreeable for us to feed them in their humours; and by this our denial, our friends in Scotland ſhall find us to be of their diſpoſition, and ſo ſtop them in their humours.

I think plainly the longer the Scottiſh Queen's affairs ſhall hang in an uncertainty, the longer will it be ere ſhe ſhall have ſuch a match in marriage as ſhall offend us. Your advertiſement of the offer of the Portugal, ſeemeth ſo acceptable, as the Lord Admiral will ſend a veſſel of his own, of almoſt one hundred tons, and the Mayor and Mr. Garrett will venture one thouſand pounds, &c. *

Sir, where you would have me advertiſe you my own mind, whether you ſhould write to the Queen's Majeſty of ſuch things as you hear worth to be known to her Majeſty; only two things move me to incline to a ſtep. The one is my friendly care of you particularly; the ſecond is, the regard that I have to preſerve the eſtimation of proteſtants in the Queen's Majeſty's judgment, which is already not increaſed; and if your ſharp reports ſhould come from ſuch, I fear the miſliking would be turned to them. And yet, comparing both theſe with the good that I know the reporters meant her Majeſty, I dare not conclude either to forbid you, or to promiſe you as much as toucheth yourſelf. You can conſider, *jacta curam ſuper Dominum, et ipſe te enutriet.* It ſerveth me ſometimes to adventure, but yet I will never have my friend adventure ſo far as myſelf.

Sir, I moſt heartily thank you for my ſon, in whom as ye ſhall ſee faults riſe up, ſo, I pray you, root them up by ſharp advertiſement; for I ſee that long ſufferance of any thing, maketh the removing of it harder; and ſpecially one fault engendreth another in our corrupt natures.

I cannot certainly write unto you of the King of Sweden's coming. His Chancellor being not of acquaintance with Engliſh conditions, doth his purpoſe more hurt than he thinketh.

* This relates to a project of a voyage to the coaſt of Guinea.

The

ELIZABETH. 1561.

The Queen's Majeſty hath plainly written to this King, that, conſidering ſhe is not as yet diſpoſed to marriage, ſhe doubteth that in coming, and not obtaining his ſuit, he ſhould change his love into offence; and therefore I think, upon the receipt of thoſe lines, he will ſtop. I am moſt ſorry of all that her Majeſty is not diſpoſed ſeriouſly to marriage; for I ſee likelihood of great evil both to this State and to the moſt of the good particular perſons, if ſhe ſhall not ſhortly marry. There hath been a matter ſecretly thought of, which I dare communicate to you, although I mean never to be an author thereof; and that is, if an accord might be made betwixt our Miſtreſs and the Scottiſh Queen, that this ſhould, by Parliament in Scotland, &c. ſurrender unto the Queen's Majeſty all matter of claim, and to the heirs of her body; and, in conſideration thereof, the Scottiſh Queen's intereſt ſhould be acknowledged in default of heirs of the body of the Queen's Majeſty. Well, God ſend our Miſtreſs a huſband, and by time a ſon, that we may hope our poſterity ſhall have a maſculine ſucceſſion. This matter is too big for weak folks, and too deep for ſimple. The Queen's Majeſty knoweth of it, and ſo I will end. I have advertiſed the Lords of Scotland of the Queen's Majeſty's anſwer to D'Oyſel. De Sevre ſaid yeſterday privately, that he looked for ſuch an anſwer as this was. Yeſternight, I thank the Queen's Majeſty, ſhe took a ſupper at my rude new cottage, wherein I thought my coſts well beſtowed for her gracious acceptance of all my offers. Sir Thomas Challoner is putting himſelf in order to go into Spain to take Mr. Chamberlain's place, and now it reſteth to compaſs your coming home. I am had here in continual jealouſy, and you in like miſtruſt. Commend me to my good L dy Throckmorton. The Queen's Majeſty thinketh long for the Paris goldſmith: he ſhall be free of cuſtom for all that he ſhall not ſell. God be with you. From London the 14th of July 1561.

Your's aſſuredly,

W. Cecil.

ELIZABETH.

1561. July 8th.

Earl of Bedford to Throckmorton.

AFTER my very hearty commendations to your Lordſhip; by your laſt letter that I received from you, for the which and all others I give moſt hearty thanks, I underſtood moſt chiefly of your good health, and for occurrence little or none, being referred to Mr. Secretary's advices and diſcourſes to him written; of whom, becauſe I aſked not, neither did he tell me any thing thereof, your letter ſeemed to be as good as if it had come from Brigſtock park. Mr. Killigrewe your great friend, one of no ſmall eſtimation and credit with Lord Robert, can and doth, I doubt not, as well as other your agents and friends here, write unto you how things paſs; to whom I muſt deſire you to be referred, for as much as I have taken my leave of the Queen's Majeſty, and bidden the Court farewell, and am now, to-morrow, going to Woborn in Bedfordſhire, and ſo further into Northamptonſhire to hunt this ſummer; from whence you know nothing can be written but that which might make you wiſh yourſelf there alſo; and ſo would I you were, at ſuch idle times as you could pick out, to diſport yourſelf after your great buſineſs.

From London this 8th of July 1561.

Your Lordſhip's right aſſured,

F. BEDFORD.

ELIZABETH.
1561.
Aug. 26th.

From Cecil to Throckmorton.

SIR,

YOUR ſervant Davis hath lingered now longer than I thought he ſhould in the beginning, upon this Court, to come with ſome intelligence of the Scots Queen's return home. The 19th of this preſent, in the morning early, ſhe arrived at Leith with her two gallies, her whole train not exceeding ſixty perſons of meaner ſort. The Lords of Scotland were not nigh, being warned only againſt the laſt of this month; only there was at Holyrood-houſe the Lord Robert, to whoſe houſe ſhe went and there remained, and gave orders with ſpeed to aſſemble her Lords. This was the whole I could learn, being ſo written in haſte at the ſame inſtant. The Queen's Majeſty's ſhips that were upon the ſeas to cleanſe them from pirates, ſaw her, and ſaluted her galleys; and ſtaying her ſhips, examined them of pirates, and diſmiſſed them gently. One Scottiſh ſhip they detain, as vehemently ſuſpected of piracy.

Since the laſt conflict in Ireland, whereof I wrote of late to you, Shane O'Neyle hath made new requeſt to come hither, but he addeth ſome conditions to it not palatable; as, to have a new garriſon planted at Armagh this laſt July, to be removed. Sir William Fitzwilliams hath been here to declare the ſame, and to require the Queen's Majeſty's pleaſure. Indeed I ſee ſuch various events of thoſe wars, that, ſo ſurety be ſeen to that he come, I regard leſs of opinion of eſtimation. If he come, the matters may ſurely and honourably fall out; if he come not, howſoever account is made of honour, I doubt of ſurety. Upon him dependeth the whole weal or loſs of Ireland; if ye yield, all is the Queen's Majeſty's at preſent; if contrary, the reſt will be in danger. He hath unluckily, in June laſt, taken

taken Callogh O'Donell and his wife the Counteſs of Kildare, and keeping him in chains, committeth the country to Collogh's brother Hugh O'Donell, ſiſter's ſon to Shane, and ſo hath at his will all Tyrconnel, a matter of no ſmall conſequence if James M'Onell ſhould be won to him. ELIZABETH. 1561.

Though Lady Catherine * is in the Tower, and near the time of delivery of child; though herſelf remain priſoner, nobody can appear privy to the marriage †, nor to the love, but maids, or women going for maidens. The Queen's Majeſty thinketh, and ſo do others with her, that ſome greater drift was in this; but for my part I can find none ſuch.

From Stortford the 26th of Auguſt 1561.

Your's always aſſured,

W. CECIL.

From the Same to the Same.

SIR,

SINCE this bearer Killigrew came over, I thought beſt to ſtay him all this time, thinking that ſome matter ſhould have happened worth his tarrying and return; but ſeeing no ſuch chanceth, knowing his deſire to return, I have thought to diſpatch him with theſe my own letters. I do my uttermoſt to procure Mr. Dannett to come thyther, but he ſo grunteth thereat, partly for ſickneſs hanging upon him though not poſſeſſing him, partly for poverty incloſing him round about, that, if it were not for your ſatisfaction, ſurely I would not thus deal to offend him as I do. I perceive her Majeſty will not be induced to relieve his laſt diſeaſe, 1561. Decem. 22d.

* Lady Catherine Grey, whoſe mother (Ducheſs of Suffolk) was niece to Henry VIII.

† With the Earl of Hertford.

ELIZABETH. 1561.

otherwiſe than his ordinary wages. I might lament my place that I hold, being, to outward appearance, becauſe of frequentation with her Majeſty, of much credit; and indeed, of none at all. But my remedy is only to leave the place; wherein my only grief is, to ſee likelihood of ſuch ſucceſſors, as I am ſure ſhall or will deſtroy all my good purpoſes. I may not write, but yet I may lament. What is my credit to help any body, may appear in myſelf, that have been forced to ſell off the land which I had when I came to this place with the Queen; one hundred and fifty pounds of good known lands *; and, at this inſtant, I am with burden of debt compelled to aſk leave of her Majeſty to ſell away my office in the Common Pleas, that hath been the only ſtay of my living theſe fifteen years, and her Majeſty doth licence me ſo to do. But ſo that I might be able to procure furniture for others to ſerve her Majeſty, I cared not for myſelf; and in this term doth ſtand the ſending away of Mr. Dannett.

I have carried in my head, with care, means how her Majeſty ſhould from time to time conduct her affairs. I ſee ſo little proof of my travels, by reaſon her Majeſty alloweth not of them, that I have left all to the wide world. I do only keep on accounts for a ſhow, but inwardly I meddle not; leaving things to work in a courſe, as the clock is left when the barrel is wound up. It is time to end theſe complaints to you who cannot remedy them; but yet becauſe you write to me divers times of matters worthy your conſideration, thinking that you have beſtowed them well on me, in hopes that I will faſhion them and put them forth, when you ſee I have no comfort ſo to do, I thought not inconvenient to note thus much to you of my imperfection.

Here be no ſmall practices in forging, ſome think, of the ſucceſſion, if her Majeſty ſhould not marry or leave iſſue. This ſong hath

* However the caſe might be then, it is notorious that Cecil raiſed a very conſiderable fortune out of his long courſe of ſervice.

many

ELIZABETH. 1561.

many parts; but, for my part, I have no ſkill but in plain ſong. Others be deviſing how to hinder religion, the rather for that her Majeſty ſeemeth eaſy therein; and if I do any good, I am ſure therein I do no hurt; and in reſpect thereof, principally, do I the reſt of all my ſervice.

I find a great deſire in both theſe Queens to have an interview; and knowing the diverſity of both their intents, although I wiſh it, yet I know it dangerous to be any ſingular doer therein.

Shane O'Neyle cometh over with my Lord of Kildare under a protection, though thereof is not meet to uſe ſpeech. He will complain of my Lord of Suſſex; but my Lord of Suſſex hath, for the Queen, more cauſe to complain of them, as he ſayeth. Howſoever it is, authority muſt be favoured. My Lord of Suſſex hath licence to come hither; who ſhall ſucceed him I know not, if it be not Sir H. Sidney. I think my Lord Ambroſe * at length ſhall be, on Chriſtmas day, Earl of Warwick, a matter often promiſed, and often broke off. From Weſtminſter, December 22d, 1561.

Your aſſured Friend,

W. Cecil.

* Dudley, brother to Lord Robert.

ELIZABETH. 1561.

No. X.

Copied from the Advocate's Library at Edinburgh.

A Note of Conſultation had at Greenwich, primo May 1561, *by the Queen's Majeſty's commandment, upon a requeſt made to her Majeſty by the King of Spain's Ambaſſador, that the Abbot of Martinengo being Nuntio from the Pope, and arriving at Bruxells, might come into the realm with letters from the Pope and other Princes to the Queen.*

PRESENT.

1561. May 1ſt.

The Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England,
William, Marquis of Northampton,
Henry, Earl of Arundell,
Edward, Earl of Derby,
William, Earl of Pembroke,
Edward Fines, le Admiral,
William Howard, Lord Chamberlain to the Queen,
Sir Edward Rogers, Comptroller,
Sir Francis Knolles, Vice Chamberlain,
Sir William Cecil, Secretary,
Sir Ambroſe Cave,
Sir William Petre,
Sir John Maſon,
Sir Richard Sackvyll,
Mr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury.

IT

ELIZABETH. 1561.

IT was deviſed and accorded by all and every one of the ſaid Counſellors, without any manner of contradiction made by any, that the Nuncio ſhould not come into any her Majeſty's dominions; and ſo by ſpecial ſpeech of every Counſellor expreſſed; raiſing therefore divers ſundry and good reaſons; whereof theſe that follow were the chief, although in utterance much more earneſtneſs, and length of ſpeech was uſed by divers of the ſaid Council, for more confirmation of their arguments, than is here uſed.

Firſt, It is both againſt the ancient laws and late laws of this realm, that he ſhould enter into the ſame, or into any the Queen's Majeſty's dominions; for, by the ancient laws, yea when the Pope had moſt credit in this realm, no Legate or Nuncio might come into the ſame; for both he ſhould have licence before, and alſo make a ſolemn oath on the other ſide the ſeas, that he ſhould bring nothing with him, nor attempt any thing in this realm, to the derogation of the King of this realm, and liberties thereof; and of this there be many examples of ancient time remaining of record, as well of the denying and refuſing of the Pope's Nuncio, to come into this realm; as alſo it is manifeſt by act of Parliament. It is enacted, that no foreign Prelate ſhall uſe any power ſpiritual or eccleſiaſtical within this realm, and if any ſhall, by word or deed, ſet forth or maintain the power or juriſdiction ſpiritual of any foreign Prelate or perſon hereafter claimed and uſed within this realm, or ſhall put in uſe any thing for ſetting forth the ſaid pretended power; that then every ſuch perſon ſhall be puniſhed for the ſame, as further appeareth by the ſtatute; and therefore it is not only againſt the laws of this realm that any ſuch Nuncio ſhould come hither, but alſo that any perſon ſhould, by word or deed, allow his coming.

Secondly, although it were lawful, and without danger for pain of forfeiting, as it is not, yet having regard to the Queen's Majeſty's Crown and royal eſtate as Queen of England, by the Laws and acts of Parliament of this realm and in the time of Henry VIII.

her

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her Majeſty's noble father, to which all the ſubjects of this realm have been ſworn, it is manifeſt, that allowing the authority of the Pope, according to ſuch juriſdiction as he claimeth, there will follow one great peril to the ſurety and truth of the Queen's undoubted title to the Crown of England: the which at preſent ſtandeth, both by the laws of God and this realm, ſo ſure and firm, that no true ſubject can, without evident ſuſpicion of evil and traiterous meaning, allow the Pope's juriſdiction in this realm to any purpoſe; eſpecially being contrary to the truth of the Queen's Majeſty's intereſt and right; as, amongſt other things, evidently appeareth by the travel that her Majeſty's adverſaries have made to diſprove her title by colour of the Pope's laws, being contrary to the laws of God; a matter of greater conſequence, than can be expreſſed in few words.

Thirdly, the great perils and inconveniences which are likely to follow, are ſuch, that no man which loveth quietneſs, can conſent to his coming in.

For whereas in winter-time the only ſound of coming of a Nuncio hath wrought, in ſundry evil-diſpoſed perſons, ſuch a boldneſs and courage, as they have not let both to break the laws with great audacity, and diſperſe abroad falſe and ſcandalous reports of the Queen's diſpoſition to change her religion and government of this realm; a thing very falſe; but alſo in ſome places have conjured with the devil, and caſt figures to know the continuance of her Majeſty's life and reign, which God long continue; how may it be thought, without great and evident danger, to have the ſaid Nuncio come hither after theſe preparations, and againſt Summer, in which time the Devil hath moſt opportunities to make trouble and tumults? And as the evil ſort, which deſire alteration and change, might receive comfort hereby, and be encouraged by the ſequel to attempt great enterprizes, with a face of ſome other purpoſes, as always rebellions have cloaks; ſo, on the contrary part, the true quiet and faithful ſubjects might have cauſe to forbear to

ſhew

ſhew openly their affection and duty to the ſervice of the Queen and realm. And in this matter it is to be conſidered, that as in a man's body after long ſickneſs, being nearly well recovered, and the good humours quieted, and the evil overcome; if the good humours be troubled, and the evil fed and cheriſhed, and ſo error committed, the peril would be greater to the body than the firſt ſickneſs was: even ſo the common weal being ſo late, ſo well recovered, ſettled and quieted, and the evil members thereof, if any were, either reformed and put to ſilence by law and order, and the good quieted by law and order, if this coming of the Nuncio, being already looked for, ſhould be permitted; thereof ſhould come ſuch a diſquietneſs and change to the body of the common weal, as thereof the peril would be greater than it was at the firſt, or than preſently can be underſtood. For nothing doth more damage to a commonwealth than changes againſt law or opinions, or hopes of changes, whereby do daily grow great dangers, both to the eſtate of the Prince, and alſo of the good ſubjects, and in the end ruin to the whole common weal; whereof examples paſt, too many and too lamentable to be remembered. ELIZABETH. 1561.

Now to anſwer them that would have the Pope's Nuncio to come in. It may be ſaid, that the Nuncio will ſwear, that he will do nothing prejudicial to the Crown and eſtate of this realm; and yet it may be doubted whether he will ſwear: but howſoever he may be induced to ſwear for his advantage, he cannot obſerve his oath, except he would come into the realm, and neither ſpeak nor deliver any letters from the Pope: or elſe he may preſume, that it is not perjury to break promiſes with ſuch as he is taught to repute as heretics. If he ſhould ſwear, and afterwards break his oath, what peril might enſue, is eaſily to be ſeen, to them which ſhould aſſent to his coming in.

And although the Queen's Majeſty might diſpenſe with the pains, yet no man of honeſty would be willingly content to be reputed in the common weal a breaker of a weighty law, that was made ſo

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lately by a univerſal conſent of the whole realm in Parliament, in the which law alſo all the whole realm hath intereſt at this day, and namely every ſuch inheritor and poſſeſſor as hath any thing by the law of this realm, but contrary to the laws and conſtitution of Rome. What man in the late time of Queen Mary ſaw not, what peril was toward the ſubverſion of the policy of this realm? So that we might be noted of great folly, if at any time hereafter we ſhould adventure the like danger. But to anſwer the truth of the matter, what an abuſe is this to bear us in hand, that no harm is meant by the Pope, when he had already done as much as in him lieth to hurt us? The Pope, even at this inſtant, hath his legate in Ireland, who is already joined with certain traitors there, and occupied in ſtirring a rebellion; having by open acts deprived the Queen of her title there, as much as in him lieth, although that the power that her Majeſty hath there, as well of public Miniſters as of a number of good ſubjects, do little eſteem ſuch attempts, as things whereof ſhortly revenge ſhall be made. And why ſhould we not believe that this man would do the like, as much as in him lieth, in this realm? It cannot be denied, but the laſt year, when the Abbot St. Salute was ſent from the ſaid Pope, of the ſame errand and tour, to Bruſſels, where the Nuncio now is, about this time alſo of the year, it was purpoſed he ſhould have done his beſt to have raiſed a rebellion here in this realm, under colour of religion; and why hath not this Abbot the like ſweet errand? There is no reaſon to be ſhewn; but contrarywiſe more reaſon is now to prove it likely in this man, than was then for the other; eſpecially ſuch preparations being uſed before-hand, this preſent year, to prepare the hearts of diſcontented ſubjects, as have by divers means been uſed otherwiſe than the laſt year, and it is notoriouſly known and diſcovered. It hath alſo been ſaid, if he come, he ſhall not lodge with any Ambaſſador, but be lodged apart by himſelf; forſooth it is a ſimple offer, and ſo to be weighed, and not worthy the anſwering.

But

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But that which for the coming of this Abbot maketh more, is this, and very meet to be truly anſwered; that this Nuncio cometh, as is pretended, only to move the Queen to ſend to a General Council as other Chriſtian Princes (as it is ſayd) have been moved. To this may well and truly be anſwered, that indeed nothing can better pleaſe her Majeſty, than to hear of a General Council: and among all worldly things that might happen unto her, no one thing could be thought more happy, than that ſhe might live to hear of ſuch a General Council, as might tend to make a unity in Chriſtendom in the matters of religion; to the furtherance whereof her Majeſty will ſpare neither travel, treaſure, nor any thing moſt dear to her. And therefore her Majeſty, when ſhe ſhall underſtand a Council to be called in ſuch a ſort, and meeting at ſuch a place, and at ſuch time, and with ſuch conditions of freedom, for all Chriſtian Princes and eſtates to come thither, as may apparently tend to make concord and unity, and not to maintain faction; will of her own mere motion, and devotion toward the unity of Chriſtendom; as being one of the principal Monarchs thereof, and not ſubject to any Potentate ſpiritual under God; ſend thither ſuch meet perſons, as ſhe doubts not ſhall declare the ſincerity of her mind, and the earneſtneſs of her affection to have one unity of all matters in Chriſt's religion.

But for that as yet her Majeſty cannot underſtand that the Council now mentioned is ſo called, nor her Majeſty ſo orderly admoniſhed thereof, as might ſeem, by the ſame mind of concord, in truth of Chriſtian religion, but rather to the contrary; her Majeſty cannot make preſently a reſolute anſwer to ſend thither. For if it be called by the Pope's authority only, and begun as a continuation of the laſt ſummoned Council at Trent, as by the printed examples of certain libels, publiſhed this laſt month of November and December, appeareth, and that it be not a Council for any perſon to have any right deciſion, but ſuch as be already ſworn to the maintain-

ELIZABETH. 1561.

ance of the Pope's authority, then ſhall her Majeſty be very ſorry, finding therein no direction, meaning to concord by conſultation, but either to maintain affection by cover and name of a General Council, as former examples have declared. And in this part her Majeſty will conceive ſome doubt and lack of ſuch good meaning towards her as is pretended: for if other Chriſtian Princes, as the Emperor, the French King, and King of Spain, have been long paſt ſent unto, and their opinions firſt required for the place and time of this Council, and their conſents deſired before it was appointed; in the day alſo now paſt, then, at the laſt, to preſent to the Queen, being a Prince of Chriſtendom, and having intereſt in the well thereof, ſuch a meſſenger as this, to admoniſh or to exhort to ſend to that Council, without requiring her opinion therein as well as of other Princes; her Majeſty and her whole realm may juſtly think, that there hath been no ſuch honourable nor juſt conſideration had of her eſtate, and of her realm, as was meet, nor that ſhe may hope of any other thing but a determination, as much as in the Pope ſhall lye, to prejudice her Majeſty and her realm, and all other eſtates of her poſſeſſions, and to eſtabliſh and confirm the authority of the Pope with all his abuſe and errors.

No. XI.

Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, to the Earl of Leiceſter.

From the Original, in the Britiſh Muſeum.

My Honourable good Lord,

I AM ſorry that my preſent diſeaſe is ſuch, as there are left me but theſe two remedies, either to ſwallow up thoſe bitter pills lately received, or to make you a partner of my griefs, thereby ſomething to eaſe a wounded heart. At my wife's laſt being at Court, to do her duty as became her, it pleaſed her Majeſty to give her a privy nippe, eſpecially concerning myſelf, whereby I perceive ſhe hath ſome * jealous conceit of me, and, as I can imagine, of late digeſted. How far I have been always from conceiting any greatneſs of myſelf, nay how ready I have been always to ſhun applauſes, both by my continual low ſail, and my carriage, I do aſſure myſelf, is beſt known to your Lordſhip, and the reſt of my neareſt friends; if not, mine own conſcience ſhall beſt clear me from any ſuch folly. Alas, what could I hope to effect, in the greateſt hopes I might imagine to have in the obtaining the leaſt likelihood of that height? Will a whole commonwealth deprive themſelves of ſo many bleſſings preſently enjoyed, for a future hope uncertain, in favour of one inferior to many others, both in degree, and any princely quality? Will they forſake a Prince, both for excellent qualities, and rare virtues of nature, and of great hopes of an ineſtimable bleſſing by her princely iſſue, in reaſon of her youth, for a poor ſubject in years, and without any great hope of iſſue? No, no, I cannot be perſuaded they would, if I ſhould be ſo fooliſhly wicked to deſire it, or that my

1563. April.

* The ſuppoſed title of Lord Huntingdon to the Crown came, through a female, from George, Duke of Clarence, youngeſt brother to Edward IV. Queen Elizabeth's extreme jealouſy about her ſucceſſion is well known; and a ſtrong inſtance of it has been already given in the impriſonment of Lady Catherine Grey.

ELIZABETH. 1563.

mind were ſo ambitiouſly inclined. I hope her Majeſty will be perſuaded of better things in me, and caſt this conceit behind her. And, that a fooliſh book, fooliſhly written *, ſhall not be able to poſſeſs her princely inclination, with ſo bad a conceit of her faithful ſervant, who deſires not to live, but to ſee her happy. What grief it hath congealed within my poor heart (but ever true) let your Lordſhip judge, whoſe Prince's favour was always more dear unto me, than all other worldly felicities whatſoever. This I am bold to make known to your Lordſhip, humbly deſiring the ſame, when you ſee your opportunity, to frame a new heart in her Majeſty's princely breaſt, whoſe power I know is not little in effecting of far greater matters than this; for never ſhall there be a truer heart in any ſubject, than I will carry to her Majeſty, ſo long as I breathe. And ſo I reſt

Your poor Servant and Brother,

H. HUNTINGDON.

April 1563.

* John Hales's, in which ſome conſiderable perſons were concerned.

No. XII.

Letters from the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

From an incorrect Tranſcript in Dr. Forbes's Collection, now in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.

[Theſe political love-letters (for they can paſs under no other denomination), from a very artful woman to a very weak man, are, from the characters of the parties, and the conſequences of their intimacy, thought to deſerve publication. It is ſingular, that, with all the commendation beſtowed on the beauty of Mary Queen of Scots, there are no two portraits of her which reſemble each other; that by Iſaac Oliver, in the King's poſſeſſion, and that in the Duke of Devonſhire's at Chiſwick, by Zuccero, are undoubtedly more advantageous to her than any others we know of. Brantome commends her perſon and her wit; and Sir Nicholas White, Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, ſays of her to Secretary Cecil, "She hath an alluring grace, a pretty Scotch "ſpeech, and a ſearching wit clouded with mildneſs. Then, joy "is a lively infective paſſion, and carrieth many perſuaſions to "the heart, which ruleth all the reſt; mine own affections, by "ſeeing the Queen's Majeſty are doubled, and therefore I gueſs "what ſight might work in others. But, if I might give advice, "there ſhould very few ſubjects of this land have acceſs to, or "have conference with this Lady."

Hatfield Papers, Vol. I. p. 510.]

From

ELIZABETH.
1569-70.
January 31ſt.

From the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk.

Mine own Lord,

I WROTE to you before, to know your pleaſure if I ſhould ſeek to make any enterprize; if it pleaſe you, I care not for my danger; but I would wiſh you would ſeek to do the like; for if you and I could eſcape both, we ſhould find friends enough; and for your lands, I hope they ſhould not be loſt; for, being free and honourably bound together, you might make ſuch good offers for the countries, and the Queen of England, as they ſhould not refuſe. Our fault were not ſhameful; you have promiſed to be myne, and I yours; I believe the Queen of England and country ſhould like of it. By means of friends, therefore, you have ſought your liberty, and ſatisfaction of your conſcience, meaning that you promiſed me you could not leave me. If you think the danger great, do as you think beſt, and let me know what you pleaſe that I do; for I will ever be, for your ſake, perpetual priſoner, or put my life in peril for your weal and myne. As you pleaſe command me, for I will, for all the world, follow your commands, ſo that you be not in danger for me in ſo doing. I will, either if I were out by humble ſubmiſſion, and all my friends were againſt it, or by other ways, work for our liberties ſo long as I live. Let me know your mind, and whether you are not offended at me; for I fear you are, ſeeing that I do hear no news from you. I pray God preſerve you, and keep us both from deceitful friends. This laſt of January.

Your own, faithful to death,

Queen of Scots, my Norfolk.

From

ELIZABETH.
1569-70.
March 19th.

From the Same to the Same.

Myne own good Lord,

I HAVE forborn this long time to write to you, in reſpect of the dangers of writing, which you ſeemed to fear; but I muſt remember you of your own at tymes, as occaſion ſerveth, and let you know the continuance of my truth to you, which I ſee by this laſt look much deteſted. But, if you mind not to ſhrink at the matter, I will die and live with you. Your fortune ſhall be mine; therefore, let me know, in all things, your mind. The Biſhop of Roſs writes to me, that I ſhould make the offers to the Queen of England now in my letter, which I write generally; becauſe I would enter into nothing till I know your pleaſure, which I ſhall now follow. I have heard that God hath taken your dear friend Pembroke, whereof I am heartily ſorry; albeit that, nor other matter, trouble you to your heart; for elſe you leave all your friends and me, for whoſe cauſe you have done ſo much already, that I truſt you will preſerve you to a happyer meeting in diſpite of all ſuch raylers; wherein I ſuſpect Huntingdon, for ſuch like talk. But, for all their ſayings, I truſt in God you ſhall be ſatisfied with my conditions and behaviour, and faithful duty to you, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God I be with you, as I hope for my part the maker ſhall never have the pleaſure to ſee, or hear my repentance or miſcontentment therein. I have prayed God to preſerve you, and grant us both his grace; and then let them, like blaſphemers, feel. So I end with the humble and heartieſt recommendations to you of your own faithful to death. This 19th of March.

From

ELIZABETH.
1570.
May 17th.

From the Same to the Same.

I HAVE received, my own good conſtant Lord, your comfortable writings, which are to me as welcome as ever thing was, for the hopes I ſee you are in to have ſome better fortune than you had yet, through all your friends favour. And albeit my friends caſe in Scotland be of heavy diſpleaſure unto me, yet nothing to the fear I had of my ſon's delivery up to Queen Elizabeth, and thoſe that I thought might be cauſe of longer delaying your affairs. And, therefore, I took greater diſpleaſure than I have done ſince, and that diminiſheth my health a little. For the Earl of Shrewſbury came one night ſo merry to me, ſhewing that the Earl of Northumberland had been in rebellion, and was rendered to the Earl of Suſſex, Lord Lieutenant of the North; which, ſince, I have found falſe; but, at the ſudden, ſuch fear for friends combring me, I wept ſo till I was all ſwollen three days after. But ſince I have heard from you, I have gone abroad and ſought all means to avoid diſpleaſure for fear of you; but I have need to care for my health, ſince the Earl of Shrewſbury looks me to, and the peſtylence was in other places. The Earl of Shrewſbury looks for Bateman to be inſtructed how to deal with me, becauſe he is ableſt and clean turned from the Earl of Leyceſter; this I aſſure you, and pray keep that quiet. I have no long leiſure, for I truſt to write by one of my gentlemen ſhortly more ſurely. I pray you think and hold me in your grace as your own, who daily ſhall pray to God to ſend you happy and haſty deliverance of all troubles, not doubting but you would not then enjoy alone all your felicities, not remembering your own faithful to death, who ſhall not have any advancement or reſt without you. And ſo I leave to trouble you, but commend you to God. This 17th day of May.

Your own Queen.

1570. June 14th.

From the Same to the Same.

My good Lord,

IT has not been ſmall comfort to me to have the mean to diſcover at length, with our truſty ſervant the Biſhop of Roſs, that I might more plainly diſcover in all matters nor betray it, both for the better intelligence of the State there to me, and of my heart to him; but eſpecially for the better intelligence betwixt us two; being means whom I have declared my opinion in all things to uſe them by your advice, either to cover, as you pleaſe and ſhall beſt ſerve your turn, for that will I have reſpect unto above all other things, or to accept or refuſe whatſoever conditions you think for both our weale; for without yours I will not have any. And therefore command him, as for yourſelf, and as your truſty ſervant; and believe him of all that he will aſſure you in my name: that is, in effect, that I will be true and obedient to you, as I have promiſed, as long as I live; praying you, if you be not, as you hoped you ſhould be, delivered, think no diſpleaſure; but ſeek the beſt remedy, and having amply communed with him, I will not trouble you with long diſcourſe but remitting all to him, I will, after my hearty commendations to you, my good Lord, pray God to ſend you your hearty deſire. From Chatteſworth, the 14th of June.

Your own, faithful to death.

ELIZABETH. 1570.

From the Same to the Same.

SUNDAY I received a writing by Borthwick from you, whereby I perceive the ſatisfaction you have of my plain dealing with you, as I muſt do of my duty. Conſidering how much I am beholden to you many ways, I am glad the grant of my good-will is ſo agreeable to you. Albeit I know myſelf to be ſo unworthy, to be ſo well liked of one of ſuch wiſdom and good qualities, yet do I think my happe great in that, yea much greater than my deſert. Therefore I will be about to uſe myſelf ſo, that, ſo far as God ſhall give me grace, you ſhall never have cauſe to diminiſh your good conceit and favour of me, while I ſhall eſteem and reſpect you in all my doings ſo long as I live, as you would wiſh your own to do. Now, good my Lord, more words to this purpoſe would be unſeemly to my preſent condition, and importunable to you, amongſt ſo many buſineſs; but this, truſt you, as written by them that means unfeignedly. This day I received a letter from you by this bearer, whereby I receive the thought you take of my health, which, thanks to God, is much better than it was at his departing, but not yet very ſtrong, nor quit of the ſoreneſs of my ſide. It cauſes me to be more heavy and penſive than I would or need to be, conſidering the care you have of me, whereof I will not thank you, for I have remitted all my cauſes to you to do as for yourſelf. I write to the Biſhop of Roſs what I hear from the Duke of D'Alva, Governor of the Netherlands. Let me know your pleaſure at length in writing, what I ſhall anſwer. Now, my Norfolk, you bid me command you; that would be beſides my duty many ways. But to pray you I will, that you counſel me not, to take patiently my great griefs, except you promiſe me to trouble you no more for the death of your ward. I wiſh you had another in his room to make you merry, or elſe I would he were out both

both of England and Scotland. You forbid me to write; be ſure I will think it no pains, whenever my health will permit it, but pleaſure, as alſo to receive your letters, which I pray you to ſpare not, when you have leiſure without troubling you; for they ſhall fall in no hands where they will be better received. The phyſicians write at length; they ſeem to love you marvelouſly, and not miſlike of me. We had but general talk, and ſome, of your matters; but not in any body's name; therefore I anſwered nothing, but giving ear ſoberly. When Borthwick goeth up, you ſhall underſtand all; in this it is unintelligible; mean time I muſt warn you, when I hear any thing touching you. Argyle ſends me word expreſsly, that when he met at Stirling with Murray, the Regent of Scotland, he aſſured him, I ſhould never come home, and that he had intelligence for to be quit of me, remembered him of his promiſes. Borthwick will write it to the Biſhop of Roſs, and my Lord Fleming. Argyle prayed me, if you were my friend, to advertiſe you haſtily: Take of this what pleaſes you, but I am ſure they will be traytors to you and me; and if they were in Turkey, you and I were never the worſe; albeit I will not be importune. But, and this Summer paſt, I hope by the good all year. God preſerve you from all traytors, and make your friends as true and conſtant. From Wingfield late at night this 24th.

ELIZABETH. 1570.

Your aſſured,

MARY.

ELIZABETH. 1583.

From the Originals in the Paper Office.

No. XIII.

Letters from Sir Edward Stafford, Ambaſſador in France.

[If one may judge from the remains of their correſpondence, Throckmorton and Stafford were the ableſt Ambaſſadors whom Queen Elizabeth employed in France during her long reign. The former was a deeper politician, and the more deſigning man; the latter had more of the courtier and the gentleman, and was particularly qualified for that Court, by having ſerved in the army, and having formed a general acquaintance in France, of both parties. Though he writes incorrectly, it is always with good ſenſe, and thorough knowledge of the world. In the affair of the Barricades, it appears from Thuanus †, that the Duke of Guiſe behaved with particular attention towards him, and Sir Edward, with equal ſpirit and politeneſs, refuſed to accept his protection.

His Lady was an extraordinary character, and, by her accompliſhments, equally fitted for the French court. She was niece to the Duke of Norfolk who was beheaded, and after the death of her firſt huſband the Lord Douglas Sheffield, was privately married to Leiceſter, by whom ſhe had the famous Sir Robert Dudley. The dread of the Queen's reſentment, and the favourite's malice, who diſowned the contract, was the occaſion of her ſecond marriage with Sir Edward Stafford; he was impriſoned for it, but ſhe appears to have made him, if not a very good wife, a very agreeable companion; her conduct, indeed, not being defenſible. The ſuit which Sir Robert inſtituted, after the Queen's death, in the Star Chamber, to eſtabliſh the validity of his mother's marriage with the Earl, and the extraordinary manner in which the proceedings were ſtopped, are fully ſet forth in Dugdale's Baronage. By this act of injuſtice, the country loſt the ſervice of an able man in Sir Robert Dudley, who took refuge in Italy; and Charles the Firſt, during his troubles, was, for a ſum of money, induced to grant a patent of peerage to his daughter, by the title of Ducheſs Dudley, in the preamble to which patent the hardſhip of her caſe is fully acknowledged.]

† See alſo Satire Menippée, & Memoires de la Ligue.

1583. Decem. 1ſt.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.

MAY it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, to give me leave to advertiſe you what I find here, fit for your Majeſty, ſince I writ laſt to Mr. Secretary. Still, of all ſides, and very credibly, I am advertiſed, that there is a meaning and a good-will, to annoy your Majeſty by all means, by the way of Scotland, and private Councils had about it; whereto, as I writ before to Mr. Secretary, Mannyngville is called, and private conferences had with him, with a meaning to ſend him into Scotland, and to have men to go, to the number of 1500, and to land at Dumbritton, and to fortify both the town underneath, and the caſtle: and withal, that levies be already making; but when I ſend to the places, I find nothing, but rather things in ſhow, and given out by the Captains belonging to the Duke of Guiſe, than otherwiſe.

This I am ſure of, that if there be any thing done, they muſt embark them, and afore they embark, there muſt be ſome preparation made for that, about which I hope I have given ſuch order, that it ſhall be no ſooner in hand, but your Majeſty ſhall be advertiſed of it; having upon all havens, upon the coaſt of Normandy and Brittany, provided to have preſent intelligence given; beſides that I have, to be ſurer, ſent, both into Brittany and Normandy, men for the purpoſe.

I pray God keep his continual hand of his grace upon your Majeſty, as he hath done hitherto, and to preſerve you from all enterprizes againſt your perſon, which your Majeſty muſt be carefuller to look to than ever, with more care of yourſelf, both for your own ſake, and all your poor ſubjects: for, aſſure yourſelf, that I know for a certainty, out of the bowels of your evil-diſpoſed ſubjects here, and of them that are here furtherers of their naughty faſhion, that they are out of hope of all ways and enterprizes to hurt you, but

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but only two; the one, by the way of Scotland, which they give out that they have aſſuredly at their commandment; the other, by the deſtruction of your perſon, which they hope for.

As for Ireland, they ſtick not to make a mock at it, and to ſay, they practiſe there, but to keep your Majeſty at the gaze, and to ſpend your money, which they ſay, they can make you ſpend in great quantity, with a ſmall charge of their part, and that it is the better way not any more to ſeek you, but at the fountain.

I know not whether your Majeſty be advertiſed of it, but I think, if it be ſo, you ſhould be ſooner than we here, that the King of Spain hath ſent a perſon of credit from him into Scotland, and treated with the King of Scots, and that there are ſix hundred that are either gone, or upon the point of going, into Scotland, moſt of them muſketteers. If it be ſo, it is the beginning of a fire, that will burſt out into ſome great flame, which there are naughty people here look ſhall not be long afore it come. There was never more of our naughty people in France than there is now, nor that ſpeak ſo villainouſly, nor ſo plainly againſt your Majeſty, nor that ſeek every hole open, where there may be ſome practices found againſt you. I take a courſe of a ſhow of mild dealing with every body, which maketh, that they that be leaſt evil of them, are not afraid of me, and by that means I hope that there ſhall no matter of ripeneſs be, that can come to their hands, but I ſhall have an inkling of it. I hope to do your Majeſty ſome kind of ſervice with that courſe, and to keep it, without your Majeſty give me commandment to the contrary. It may be a dangerous courſe for me, if any body that loveth me not, have power to do me harm with you; but, in the mean time, being the likelieſt courſe to do you ſervice withal, I will put mine own particular harm in a venture, to do the beſt good I can to your public ſervice.

Now to advertiſe your Majeſty certainly of them that are likelieſt to enterprize againſt you here, or to favour it. For the houſe

of

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of Guiſe, your Majeſty knoweth their good-wills well enough. For the King, his courſe of dealing is ſuch, and ſo uncertain, that, by reaſon of the uncertainty of his favours, there can never be aſſured judgment given which way he will bend himſelf; for, as long as Eſpernon hath credit, he will hinder any thing the Duke of Guiſe doth, and ſince theſe laſt quarrels, private heart-burnings are, that be not ſo hidden but men ſee them, and it is greatly feared that he will not long laſt, but that he will have St. Megrim's end: and certain it is, that Manningville had been diſpatched long ſince, if he, becauſe the Guiſe favoured the matter, had not hindered it: but ſtill they prevail, for I hear it for certain, that Manningville ſhall be diſpatched, and embark at Eau. Whenſoever it be done, it will be ſo ſuddenly and ſecretly done, that I ſhall hardly have time to give your Majeſty warning. And therefore, what your Majeſty thinketh fit to be done in it, is to be done upon this warning, both for that your Majeſty mindeth to do yourſelf of that ſide; and for me, if it be your pleaſure to have me do any thing in it, that you ſend me your pleaſure with all the expedition you may. The third, that I fear in the end, as much as any in France, is Monſieur. I ſee his diſpoſition ſuch, and ſo flexible, to be brought to do any thing to feed his ambitious humour; and ſince this laſt quarrel of Eſpernon and D'Aumale, he hath not let the opportunity fail, and fought upon the Duke of Guiſe in preſenting of him favour, which he hath often done afore, but they would never bite at it; but now it ſeemeth, they make ſhow to hearken to it. The only hope that there is left of their not thoroughly agreeing is, that they know him. And this I am ſure of, that no longer agone than yeſternight, the Duke of Guiſe had private conference with a friend of his, about the matter, and aſked him advice in it, being a thing, as he ſaid, he could not tell what to do in; the King's diſpoſition, to grace *Petits Valets* afore him, moving him; one way and Monſieur's nature

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another way, putting him in fear to have any thing to do with him. His friend's counſel was to him, to temporize, and to entertain Monſieur with as many courteous meſſages, and offers of ſervice, as he could; but to take heed he committed nothing to writing, for fear leſt time would give him cauſe to repent Monſieur's acquaintance, which was, and had been yet, dangerous to as many as had dealt with him, conſidering his little ability, and leſs diſpoſition, to have regard to any men of quality that did him ſervice. And beſides his accuſtomed uſe to keep any thing he had in ſtore, to cut men's throats that had offered him ſervice, when he was once weary of them; which was hourly to be feared, his uncertainty being ſo great, as he, and every body knew it. And therefore, by any means, to keep that hand, that Monſieur ſhould have cauſe for the preſent to be contented, and he in liberty to cleave either to him, or to remain faſt to the King, which was the likelier of the two, conſidering his preſent ſtate in the Crown, with the which he had ever held, and the other's nature, which he was to ſtand in awe of.

The Duke of Guiſe embracing him, reſolved to follow his counſel, and upon that ſpake in ſuch ſort to Drow, that under colour of being ſent to the King, was ſent about that matter to the Duke of Guiſe, who uſed it ſo well, that Drow went away marvellous well ſatisfied; but when he required the Duke of Guiſe to write to Monſieur, he deſired him to pardon him. So that I hope they will one entertain another, to ſerve the other's turn, without, any thing at all, truſting one another.

Pinard, as I writ to Mr. Secretary the laſt day, is returned from Monſieur, marvelouſly diſcontented. He went for two ſpecial things, the one to bring Monſieur to the Court, according to his promiſe to the Queen Mother; the other, to get Cambray into the King's hand. For the firſt, Monſieur anſwered divers reaſons why he

he would not come to the Court: at the length he made a demand, to have his guard lodged in the King's houſe, as well as the King's, which the King took in marvellous ill part. For the ſecond, Pinard offered Monſieur from the King, that if he would put Cambray and the citadel into any man's hand that could ſpend in France 25,000 Franks a year, to be the Governor of it, he would pay the garriſon and defend it upon his own coſt and charge; or if he miſtruſted that them that he ſhould put in, might be too much at his devotion, he was contented to name unto him three of his own followers, that were men of quality; and if he would put any of them in, he would do the like; which were Rochepot, La Chaſtre, and Bellegarde. But to be ſtill at the charge to furniſh him whenſoever he would, to ſpend his money, and waſte and ſpoil his people, and to leave the government of a town of ſuch importance in their hands, that have neither honeſty to care for, nor goods to be careful of the loſs thereof, what treachery ſoever they committed, that he would not do. Which Monſieur refuſing, was the cauſe that Pinard came away diſcontented, and the King proteſting that he ſhould never be deſired more to come to him, nor offered reaſonable help, ſeeing he ſo little ſet by it. ELIZABETH. 1583.

Very wiſe men think here, that know Monſieur's humour very well, that when the King will no more intreat him to come, he will come of himſelf upon a ſudden, and that he will be fain at length to deſire that for Cambray that the King offereth.

Monſieur beginneth to be ſomewhat more followed than he was, by means of the King's dealings in this aſſembly; for neither the clergy is contented with him, nor the nobility. For he ſeeketh to draw more from the clergy than they will ever grant him, but by force; and ſeeketh to draw from the Nobility, part of their authority over their vaſſals (as they term them), which will never be done without blows. And that maketh both ſorts to flock about Monſieur, more than they were minded; ſo that

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the beſt ſeers into the eſtate here do think Monſieur's greatneſs will begin to riſe again by the King's defaults. Some, as wiſe as they, think, that the King, finding it, will take up in time, and that though he do not, Monſieur hath ſo evil uſed the reſt of his fair offered fortunes heretofore, that any thing that can be offered him hereafter, will come but to wind, as the reſt have done.

There came to me the laſt day, late in the night, one apparelled like a Jeſuit, deſirous to come to me very ſecretly; told me he was ready to do your Majeſty all the ſervice he might, aſſuring himſelf, that, according to your liberality accuſtomed, you would recompence him; and that, for my part, I would keep his dealings ſecret to myſelf; which aſſuring him, both of your part, for your liberality, and mine, for my ſecretneſs, he declared to me firſt, how he was often with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, and now, by reaſon of his coat, began to be great with the new-come Nuncio; that he found great amity contracted between them, which might be prejudicial to your Majeſty. That he would diſcover to me, from time to time, all their dealings; and that he gave me warning of one thing, that my wife was thought to be a Catholic in mind, though ſhe made no ſhew of it, and therefore I was to take heed what dealings ſhe was acquainted withal. To the firſt, I encouraged him all the ways I could, with aſſurance of my gratefulneſs, to the uttermoſt of my power, and hope of your Majeſty's reward farther. For the laſt I thanked him greatly for it, told him it was a thing that I had always feared, and therefore deſired him to have a ſpecial eye to it, that I might be adverti ſed of it, and that, if I did once know it, I would keep her ſhort enough. Which courſe I held with him, for two reaſons, one, to have it given abroad that ſhe is ſo, which I have gone about, ever ſince I came hither, to blow abroad, to make thoſe women that be privateſt about the Queen Mother, of the beſt ſort that come to ſee her, to ſpeak franklier to her. The other, to ſee by the blowing of it abroad by him, whether he were a man ſet

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of purpoſe to feel me or no. Which not only I have found out that way, being a thing by his means ſpread round about the next days after; but alſo I preſently dogged him, and found that he went to the Duke of Guiſe's houſe preſently from me, and that he is one of the belonging, and only depending upon him. I hope both to make his news he hath ſpread abroad, and him, to ſerve your turn, as I will make her handle the matter, and as I will uſe him, if your Majeſty will ſometimes make ſome letters be written to me for the purpoſe, that I may ſhow.

And thus let me make an end, with making your Majeſty to laugh, at one that came the laſt day puffing to me in great haſte, aſſuring me, that it was certified that Segur's going into England was, to ſeek marriage of you for his maſter. And that he had carried a teſtimony from all the churches, that conſidering this laſt accident of the Queen his wife's, he was at liberty to put her away, marry again, which they counſelled him to, and that your Majeſty gave attentive ear to it. I anſwered him as coldly as I could, that was a thing I was not acquainted with, but that I knew your Majeſty not ſo hot to marry, but both you would have leiſure to ſee him free that ſought you, and give us leiſure to talk more of the matter afore it were done ſo ſuddenly.

Of the matters of the Queen of Navarre, I have written ſo at large to Mr. Secretary, that my letter being already tedious enough, I leave troubling of your Majeſty, and commit you to the tuition of the Almighty. This firſt of December 1583.

I beſeech your Majeſty that this matter of my wife may not paſs yourſelf, for if it be given out any way at all, the play is marred, and your Majeſty's ſervice that way loſt.

There was news came hither yeſterday, that Monſieur was, with force, come from Chaſteauthierry. Some ſuſpected he was come ſecretly hither, to ſpeak with the King and Queen Mother. And all his own folks here were in a marvellous dump. But the King

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and Queen Mother were in greater, for they had advertiſement he was gone into Languedoc, and were greatly amazed. Yet the certainty is not known, but I had a lacquey from a friend of mine there this morning, and letters, by the which I am aſſured, that Monſieur is there ſtill, but that he went about a little love matter two or three leagues, and lay out but one night. To be more certain of all, I have, under colour of ſending Monſieur a nag of mine, that Monſieur hearing of had a mind to. I have ſent one purpoſely to preſent that nag, that will bring me the certainty.

Endorſed, copy of my letter to the Queen, by Painter, the firſt of December 1583.

Sir E. Stafford to Secretary Walſingham.

1583. Decemb. 1ſt.

SIR,

FIRST, to begin with ſuch things as have paſſed, or that I omitted in my laſt letter. The King ſent for Clernaut after that he was gone, and told him, that he had ſent Bellievre to deal about the matter of his ſiſter; that he was very ſorry with all his heart, that evil reports had made him do that which he had done towards her. That he deſired him to be a means to the King of Navarre, to have all things done to his ſiſter's honour; for, if he did not deal well with her, all the wars for religion in France ſhould be nothing near unto that which ſhould now be againſt him with extremity; that he would not have his blood diſhonoured, and bid him go ſpeak with the Queen his mother, who ſhould tell him more; which Clernaut did without any reply, to hear her afore he would make his anſwer.

Thereupon he went to the Queen Mother, who delivered him the ſame thing the King did. And added withal, that for her own particular,

particular, in dealing well with her daughter, ſhe would be the King of Navarre's agent in all his cauſes, and Clernaut's for being the mediator of it. ELIZABETH. 1583.

To her, Clernaut anſwered, that the King had uſed the ſame ſpeeches to him, to whom he had forborne to anſwer; for the reſpect that he had, put him over to farther ſpeech with her; but to her he deſired pardon, though he anſwered plainly, he would carry no ſuch anſwer to his Maſter. That the ground of her diſhonour came from hence, whence it was to be repaired. That if, the fault coming from hence, they would, by uſing extremity, ſeek to make him do a thing ſo diſhonourable, he was ſure he had that courage, that he would abide rather all hazards, and put himſelf in the protection of God; and with that departed, and would have ſpoken with the King again, but he found him gone through the Queen Mother's chamber a back way into the park, where in paſſing he had ſpoken with her; and Villeroy ſent for him an hour after, and told him, he was ſorry for the ſpeeches that had paſſed from the King, and ſo was the King himſelf ſince, being moved with an advertiſement that came to him from that country, that the King of Navarre meant preſently to repudiate the Queen and take another. And deſired him to be ſo diſcreet as to make no word of that to the King of Navarre, the King having ſpoken it in choler, which he was very ſorry for.

To that Clernaut anſwered, that he never meant to deliver any ſuch meſſage to the King of Navarre, whatſoever had come of it.

For the Queen of Navarre, Bellievre had made her advance herſelf to Cadillac by the laſt news: ſome ſay now to Nerac, but the King of Navarre goeth ſtill farther from her, and there is yet no news that Bellievre is come to him.

The King of Navarre is in Foix, and in going, ſurprized a town of his own called Mont de Marſant, which, by the laſt peace, ſhould have been put into his hands, and they ever kept it againſt the King's will, as the King affirmed by all meſſages to the King of

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Navarre, who preſently ſent word to the King of it, that ſeemed to be very well contented with it, though I know he ſtorm marvelouſly at it, and know not whereabouts they are, ſpecially by the King of Navarre's going into Foix, which is within four leagues of Montreal, and not far off D'Anville, with whom they fear marvelouſly his conference.

The King is marvelouſly offended with the Duke of Savoy, both for the taking of Colmars, which he doth ſuſpect is done by intelligence between him and D'Anville, as alſo for this falling of the Five Cantons of the Swiſſers from him, which he layeth all upon him as his practices: the King, as they ſay, ſtayeth but Bellievre's return, by whoſe hands all affairs of the Swiſſers paſs; and it is thought he meaneth to break league with them firſt. The King hath ſent for the Ambaſſador of Savoy, and hath been very earneſt with him and hot: the Ambaſſador aſſureth the contrary, and uſeth mild ſpeeches and aſſurances to that intent.

I received letters to-day from Monſ. de Beza, where he writeth, that, for all the Duke of Savoy's preſſing for this diet, he now flieth the tilt, and delayeth the matter, and armeth himſelf, ſo that the affected cantons now aſſemble a diet, to provide for the worſt, both for their alliesand themſelves.

Alſo he aſſureth me, that the King of Spain hath drawn out moſt of his old garriſons out of Italy, and put in Boſognes, and that both they and the reſt of them that came from the Terceras, are already at Sanonne, and ſhall go into the Low Country. Divers marvel that being already ſo ſtrong there as he is, he bringeth in ſo ſuperfluous a number of all old ſoldiers, without it be for ſome farther intent, than only the Low Country's reduction.

The King hath continued the *Grands Jours* for three months longer. Truly juſtice is done in them marvellous ſeverely. At the firſt it was thought that it was taken in hand to attrap them of the religion; but truly it is come to all men, more to Catholics than Proteſtants.

Proteſtants. Men of great quality have been executed in it. Buſſi's father is condemned in it, and is fain to fly to Cambray to his ſon-in-law Balagny, for ſuccour; and his daughter, Balagny's wife, is come to this town to intreat for him, but the King refuſeth pardon generally to all them that are condemned by the *Grand Jours*. And, in truth, there hath been marvellous great ordinary robberies committed, and murders by divers, that it is a ſhame to hear. ELIZABETH. 1583.

I am credibly informed, that all Languedoc had been by this time in arms, if one Advignon, diſguiſed like a mariner, had not arrived ſafely, with the King's packet hidden in a ſachel of ſand, and other ſuch traſh, at Narbonne, to the Count of Joyeuze, in the laſt month. His meſſage was, to have a ſpecial eye to all things, which, if it had not been done, divers places had been ſurpriſed. The meſſenger was laid for in divers places, and eſcaped hardly, having expreſs charge from the King to go part by ſea, if need were, and to caſt away, if need were, the packet into the ſea or ſome puddle, the ſame being made cloſe up and heavy, of purpoſe.

The cauſe of Duke Joyeuze's going to Rome, (better known to your Honour, than to me it can be, being afore my time) was yeſterday reported to me by a man of good credit, great knowledge, and a Catholick, as follows: To obtain diſpenſation of the Pope, for the King to ſell 100,000 crowns yearly revenue of church land. To procure the excommunication of Montmorency *tanquam fautorem hæreticorum*, according to the bull *In Cænâ Domini*. To buy the country of Avignon. To procure a red hat for the Archbiſhop of Narbonne, his brother. But finding the opinion of his credit in France inferior to his own imagination, and the Pope and Clergy of Rome more ſtately than he looked for, he was greatly diſmayed and diſcontented in himſelf; whereupon, it is thought, his diſeaſe is a melancholy that will make an end of him ſhortly, as being increaſed by that the Pope denied him in all.

The

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The King ſeeketh in this aſſembly to have his gentlemen and gentlewomen that he made theſe laſt years, to be brought to the kitchen * again, and all his new officers to be diſcharged, with the authority of the aſſembly. And with this ſimple concluſion, I commit your Honour to God. Paris, 1ſt December, 1583.

Endorſed, copy of my letter to Mr. Secretary, by Painter, the 1ſt of December 1583.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.

1583. Dec. 10th.

MAY it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty, to be advertiſed, that hearing, as I writ in my laſt to you, that Monſieur was departed from Chaſteauthierry, whereof we had here a great alarm, upon divers bruits that came upon that, I ſent a man thither, under the colour of preſenting him a nag, to ſee what became of him: but I find that he was away but one night, and came again the next day, being only gone but to a gentleman's houſe thereby, with few company with him.

Monſieur taketh great pleaſure in thinking, that they which were here were very much afraid of him, which in truth is true, and the King, as all they that be about him ſay, groweth in more fear of him every day, than other. I cannot aſſure your Majeſty that it is true, but that they may have better intelligence than outwardly they make ſhow of; but if it be, they be the cunningeſt carriers of it that ever was ſeen, and the wiſeſt of both religions are deceived in it, and they that be neareſt about them both. On Sunday was the marriage between Ferragues's daughter and Anvilly; within two days after they be married, the father, the mother, and the wife

* Roturiers.

go

go back again, as they ſay there. The marriage was very private without ceremony; and in truth, there was no great cauſe why it ſhould be otherwiſe, for ſuch a man's daughter as Ferrague's, and ſuch a man's ſon as Anvilly was.

Surely, Madam, there were great troubles in likelihood to grow here, in men's opinions, and no ſpeech was but of wars, of the which I have written more at large to Mr. Secretary, not to trouble your Majeſty with the reading of too tedious a letter.

Monſieur has ſent hither Raſont, very ſecretly, to treat from him with the King of Navarre's and Prince of Condé's ſervants here, to ſee if they could make him certain how things in Languedoc and Guienne went; and to ſee if there were not any way poſſible, to bring to paſs a good truſt between the King of Navarre, Monſieur, and the Prince of Condé, and them of the churches: and for to bring them the rather unto it, and to take all the doubts out of their heads, he offered them to put your Majeſty for to anſwer for his good uſing of himſelf hereafter. And that, though they had cauſe to ſuſpect Monſieur for what was paſt, there were divers great and important reaſons moved him; that hereafter, though for religion he would never take it in hand, yet if they would take arms for the *bien publique*, which had great need of it, that whilſt he lived, he would take ſuch part as they.

They made him a true account how things paſſed there, which he firſt demanded; but for the laſt, they anſwered him very diſcreetly, that the King keeping his promiſe with them, and letting them live in peace, they were to take it very thankfully, and to give God thanks.

As for your Majeſty, they thought you would not counſel them any ſuch thing. Raſont told them, that he had commandment to come and make me acquainted with it; but I hear not yet of him, yet it is four days agone; which hath made me to ſtay ſending, expecting to hear from his mouth, ſome more particular matter than that which

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they had advertiſed. Whereunto I had prepared a dilatory anſwer, with all the beſt manner I could, if he had come; which courſe I mean to take in all ſuch matters, but only to have a good ear, and a ſmall tongue, till ſuch time as I can advertiſe your Majeſty, and know your pleaſure.

He being not yet come, and, as I hear, going out of the town, I have thought good to ſtay no longer, but to advertiſe your Majeſty of it. They that gave me this advertiſement, in following the matter, drew the wire ſo well out of him, that he burſt out that this league was propounded to the Duke of Guiſe, and that he had once agreed unto it; and, going to write his conſent unto Monſieur, one of his friends pulled him from the paper, which almoſt agreeth with that I writ to your Majeſty in my laſt letter; which brought them farther out of love with the matter, and more miſtruſt than before, to ſee that he confeſſed the ſeeking firſt upon the Duke of Guiſe afore them, which two could ſcarce hang well together.

At my firſt coming hither, as my duty was to all Ambaſſadors that have come to ſee me, I have gone about ever to aſſure them, as they did me, on their Maſter's part, of the continuance of your Majeſty's friendſhip towards their Maſters and States. Two days agone, the Ambaſſador of Venice came to me, and ſhewed me very earneſt affection towards your Majeſty, of that ſtate, and a commandment from them to continue and increaſe the ſame, as a thing they deſired, above all Princes of Chriſtendom; and was very earneſt with me to deliver it your Majeſty, with great aſſurance on their part, in ſuch kind as though, if it ſeemed your Majeſty made account of them, that he might find it more than of ordinary compliments, he had ſomething to ſay farther. If your Majeſty will have me to take knowledge of any thing more than of ordinary good will towards that State, having received commandment from you, I will obey it to the beſt of my power. Likewiſe I writ to Monſ. Chaſtillion, as one of my old acquaintance at my coming firſt, to renew

it, and to require his continuance of his good will towards your Majeſty, which he had ſo often vowed to me. Laſt of all, to aſſure him, of your good will towards him, as hereditable towards him for his father's ſake. I received anſwer from him with the greateſt humility of ſervice towards your Majeſty, and offer to leave all cauſes in France, to venture his life for the ſervice of your Majeſty, whenſoever it ſhall pleaſe you to command him. ELIZABETH. 1583.

The Duke of Bouillon came the laſt day to the town, and ſent to me, that he would come ſee me that afternoon. I made an excuſe of buſineſs, becauſe I would not have him come firſt to me; and preſently after his man's departure, I went and ſaw him at his lodging; where he acknowledged, as much as might be, his dutiful remembrance of your Majeſty's honourable uſing of him in England, with earneſt proteſtations of his dutiful ſervice, which he reiterated again the next day that he came to viſit me, and that very earneſtly. So did likewiſe Monſieur de la Vall, who came to viſit me to that intent, and I rendered him the next day his ſalutation, and likewiſe to the Count Chaſteauroux, who did the like to me in the honour of your Majeſty, to whom he proteſted his ſervice.

The Pope's Nuntio ſent his Secretary the laſt day to Monſieur, who was received there with great kindneſs. I cannot hear by them that come or write from thence, that it was any other than ordinary compliments upon the Nuntio's firſt arrival. I ſhall hear more within a day or two; they had both often and very ſecret conference.

I ſend your Majeſty a letter which Monſieur ſent me by a Courier, and withal I received from a friend of mine a letter with a little in it, with a contrary hand in Engliſh. The words were, The Ambaſſador that went to her Majeſty is come again, and hath brought nothing but words; whereat, what ſhow ſoever we make, we are not contented. I pray God it breed not ſome miſchief. For my part, Madam, I think nothing from thence can breed any great good, without it be with doing ſomebody great harm, and therefore I think

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good words is your beſt courſe, without any great deeds. I do keep that hand with them (though I write plainly to your Majeſty), that they think not ſo; and ſo ſhall do, if they hear not the contrary from England.

Endorſed, Copy of my Letter to the Queen, by Chamberlain, the 10th of December 1583.

Sir Edward Stafford to Lord Burleigh.

1583. Dec. 19th.

I HAVE ſent your Lordſhip the very words of Mr. Secretary's letter to me, by Mr. Conſtable, and leave to your Lordſhip's judgment, whether any man that can ſee farther than the end of his own noſe, may not judge or think, that there is an evil meaning in the writer *, and to ſuſpect that there is an intention, if it be not already done, to make her that it is written from, in her name †, to think as they mean.

" Sir, I am expreſsly willed by her Majeſty to make this preſent diſpatch to you, thereby to require you in her name, that you do carry a very watchful eye over the Lord Paget and Charles Arundel, who have of late conveyed themſelves away without licence, ſeeking very carefully to underſtand what they may practiſe or deal in the prejudice of this Crown, wherein her Majeſty hath willed me to ſignify to you, that ſhe is aſſured that the alliance that my Lady, your wife, hath with them, ſhall not make you to be more remiſs to perform your duty towards her, with that truſt that ſhe doth ſpecially repoſe in you."

* Walſingham. † The Queen.

Copy

Copy of a private Letter to Mr. Secretary, about the Anſwer of that he writ to me of my Lord Paget.

SIR,

I RECEIVED the laſt day a packet from your Honour, by Mr. Conſtable; in it a letter touching Paget and Arundell, and the Queen's commandment for the diligent looking into their actions here. Truly her commandment muſt needs make me more diligent, if it be poſſible, not more careful; that my duty bound me to enough afore, and therefore more I cannot.

I had, afore your letter, taken the ſame ſhow of careleſs courſe you writ to me of, thinking it the beſt; and truly I find ſo by experience, for by that means they take leſs heed of me. I have had one lodged by them, but I am fiſhing for one that is daily with them, and their ſervant; I am not out of hope to have him. They have yet dealt themſelves with nobody, nor ſeen any man of importance. What Charles Paget doth for them I can hardly learn as yet, for he is inſeparable with Morgan, and Morgan is hand in hand with the Biſhop of Glaſcow; judge you what may be then moſt likely, and I muſt have time to ſeek out; yet Paget, and his fellow, both proteſt, that neither they do, nor will do, any thing againſt the Queen's Majeſty, nor hang upon the French King, the Pope, the King of Spain, the Duke of Guiſe, nor any other, as long as neceſſity for meat driveth not them to it, and that the Queen will let them live to their conſcience here, with reaſonable favour, without undoing. I ſhall perchance come by their contrary dealings, ere it be long, if they deal in any thing.

Paget hath received 4000 Crowns, as I am advertiſed for certainty, by the hands of Bartholomew Martin here; the exchange came

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came from Moſley, a merchant in Cheapſide, to Roan, and from Roan hither.

Sure I am of one thing, that, as yet, they have ſpoken with nobody of importance, nor any ſtranger of value, without it be by the ſecond hand, by Charles Paget's and Morgan's means, without ſpeaking with any themſelves, for that yet the elder brother, nor his fellow, have not yet ſeen Morgan ſince they came.

Now, Sir, give me leave to deſire you to do me ſo much favour, as that I may requeſt you to tell the Queen that, what alliance ſoever any body had to my wife, there is neither alliance to her, to me, nor kindred to any of us both, not if it were mine own brother, that, if he enterprize any thing againſt her, ſhould ſcape puniſhment in extremity, as long as I had any handle. And therefore much leſs, I hope, ſhe will doubt in theſe, who neither have kindred, alliance, or any other matter of value in them, to draw me a thought from my duty, though I were but a private man, much more being in a place of truſt; which I beſeech you to tell her, as there is nothing I can receive more wrong in, than to be in that point, never ſo finally, doubted of.

I have the ſooner ſent you this bearer Aſke, becauſe you may know of the ſpeeches that are here of the French Ambaſſador's going into Scotland; becauſe that, if you will, and think good, there are ways enough. The man that carrieth the diſpatch being watched at Dover to ſee what he carrieth, afore he come to London: his name is Harvey, the French Ambaſſador's ordinary ſervant.

Sir

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

1583. Dec. 26th.

I RECEIVED four days agone this letter here incloſed from Monſieur to your Majeſty, with another from him to myſelf, to ſend it to you ſurely and ſpeedily; which having kept four or five days in my hand, hoping of an ordinary poſt, and finding the wind hath permitted none theſe three weeks and more, I durſt no longer keep it, but to ſend this bearer with it to your Majeſty, moſt humbly craving your pleaſure to know, hereafter receiving any in ſuch ſort from him, whether I ſhall ſend it away preſently, to avoid opinion of negligence, or keep till a better opportunity, to avoid expence: and as I ſhall know your Majeſty's pleaſure, ſo will I direct myſelf in that, or any thing elſe.

For your Majeſty's pleaſure I received by Mr. Secretary, about my Lady, as in all things elſe, ſo muſt and will I fulfil your Majeſty's will. I pray God, either for 500 marks of mine own, or as much of your purſe, I have as good intelligence, as I think that way would have gotten. For this your Majeſty may aſſure yourſelf of, that there are four women in the Court, Madame Villeroy, Retz, Princeſs of Condé and Nevers, that have all the news, and moſt ſecreteſt devices of the Court; for there is never a one of theſe, or at the leaſt amongſt theſe four, one of them, that hath not either a lover, an honourer, or a private friend, of the ſecreteſt Council in the Court, that will almoſt hide nothing from them. With theſe, ſhe having conference, as they all deſire her company, among women, (except Princeſſes of your quality) few things but are ripped up; and the more bending they feel in religion, the more frankneſs both in men and

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and women commonly there is; and the more they feel them bend, the more they uſe frankneſs, hoping to make them full coming. I am ſure of one thing, ſhe could have done no harm; and it had been a great hazard, if by that means I had not done a great deal of good for your ſervice. But as I have my mind, while I am here, to ſeek no ways but to ſerve you, ſo ſeeing you like not of my way, I will ſeek no way but that which may beſt like you: and therefore I will ſeek ſome way, the cleanlieſt that I can, to take away the opinion I have already gone about to print, and find ſome other the beſt courſe I can, to do your Majeſty the beſt ſervice I may *.

For Monſieur, ſince the Queen Mother went thither, I hear nothing from thence; they here look daily for ſomewhat.

Upon Friday laſt, but then the Queen Mother was not arrived at Chaſteauthierry, came Monſieur's Provoſt from him, with letters to the King, to deſire him to give him ſtrong hand to attach the Abbot of Albene, as one, that the man apprehended, confeſſed to be a partner in this conſpiracy, and to deſire the King preſently to ſend him to him.

The King thinketh ſtrange to have ſuch meſſage from his brother within his realm; yet, ſeeming very willing to have any body to anſwer ſuch fact, ſent for the Abbot, and told him that he muſt give him his faith and a ſurety ſufficient, that he ſhould keep Paris for his priſon, till he had anſwered to ſuch things as his brother had laid to his charge; which he called Monſieur's Provoſt to aſſiſt unto, to ſee what order he had taken with the Abbot; and therewithal ſent his brother word, that he found this manner of his dealing with him ſtrange, to ſend to him that was his King, though his brother, to

* The Queen's declining to avail herſelf of the Lady Sheffield's turn for intrigue, proceeded either from a ſcrupulous and laudable delicacy, to make uſe of ſuch deceitful and hypocritical practices, or from her ſuſpicions of the Lady's ſincerity and fidelity. She was niece to the beheaded Duke of Norfolk. Mr. Walpole has a portrait of her firſt huſband, Lord Sheffield, at Strawberry hill.

ſend

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ſend to him any that was remaining where he was, to be examined by him that had no juſtice, and that he thought it had been rather fit for him to have ſent the ſoldier that he had, to him, to have examined him, and confronted him with the Abbot, or any other, he having only, by being King, the adminiſtration of juſtice in his hands, and not Monſieur. Yet he was contented to do that he did, to ſhow better nature, and more care over Monſieur, than he looked Monſieur would do for him in that caſe; though in the end, he thought it would fall out but practices of them about him, to ſtretch to farther matter, than any thing elſe of truth; which a great many here are in ſome opinion of: what will fall out of it, I cannot judge yet.

The Abbot was with me here yeſterday, and deſired me to requeſt of your Majeſty, with his humble duty, that you would, whatſoever you heard of him, think of him as of an honeſt man, and to remember, that though he be now away from Monſieur, your Majeſty yourſelf once told him, that there was no place for an honeſt man to reſt there, as long as Ferragues had any great credit about him.

For the reſt of that which is occurrent here, I leave it to Mr. Secretary's letter, to whom I have written at large, for fear of troubling your Majeſty with too tedious a letter. Yet can I not end without as plain dealing with you, to declare any good dealing of Monſieur towards you, which I would be the gladder of the two I might daily write, as I am by duty bound when I find the contrary. I am very credibly informed, that when he heard of this villainous act of Somerfield's confeſſion, he grew in a great choler, and ſwore deeply, which he commonly doth not, that Jeſuits only were the ſetters on of theſe enterpriſes; and that, if he were a King, he would rather hang them with his own hand, than ſuffer any of them to live; with many bitter words againſt them, and many honourable and loving ſpeeches of your Majeſty.

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No. XIV.

From Dr. Forbes's Collection, now in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.

From the Queen of Scots to Charles Paget.

[This Letter is printed as particularly pointed out by Mr. Hume in the laſt quarto edition of his Hiſtory.]

1586. May 20th. WITH an infinite number of other letters in cypher, I received five of your own, dated the 14th of January, 7th of May, 24th and laſt of July 1585, and 4th of February 1586; but, for their late arrival here and all at once, it hath not been poſſible to make me yet ſee them all decyphered; ſo, wholly without any intelligence of foreign affairs, it is very difficult for me to eſtabliſh any certain courſe for re-eſtabliſhing of mine own on this ſide. And methink, I can ſee no other means to that end, except the King of Spain, now being pricked, in his particular, by the attempt made on the Low Countries, and the courſe of Drake, would take revenge of this Queen; whilſt France, occupied as it is, cannot help her. Wherefore, I deſire that you ſhould eſſaie, either X—— during his aboad in Spain, or by Bernandino Mendozo, to diſcover clearly if the ſaid King hath intention to ſet on this country; as to me it ſeemeth to be the ſureſt and readieſt way for him, whereby to rid himſelf altogether of the Queen's malice againſt him; ſo as now he doth find himſelf conſtrained to come to the ſame remedies which, in Don John D'Auſtria's time, were propounded unto him; which I doubt he ſhall not find preſently in theſe parts of ſuch ſtrength and virtue, as if he had applied them in time and place; as to wit, whilſt that I had ſo well diſpoſed Scotland to receive them, that the Catholic

party in this realm had the principals, which ſince it hath loſt. My relations in France were to have employed, therein, and the ſaid King not impeached in any other enterprize. I remember well that Don John was always ſtiff of this opinion, that there was no other means in the world whereby to ſet up again the King his brother's affairs in the Low Countries, and to aſſure his States in all other parts, then in re-eſtabliſhing this realm under God, and a Prince his friend; for ſo much as he foreſaw right well, that this Queen would not fail to break with him, and to give him, as ſhe hath done, the firſt blow. Now in caſe (as ſayd is) that he deliberate to ſet on this Queen, eſteeming it moſt neceſſary, that he aſſure himſelf alſo of Scotland, either to ſerve him in the ſaid enterprize, or, at the leaſt, hold that country ſo bridled, as it ſerve not his enemy, I have thought good that you enter with E. in theſe overtures following: to wit, that I ſhall travel by all means to make my ſon enter in the ſaid enterprize: and if he cannot be perſuaded thereunto, that I ſhall dreſſe a ſecret band and league amongſt the principal Catholic Lords of that country, and their adherents, to be joined with the King of Spain, and execute at his devotion what, of their part, ſhall be thought meet for advancing of the ſaid enterprize; ſo being they may have ſuch ſuccours of men and money as they will aſk, which I am ſure ſhall not be very chargeable, having men enough within the country, and little money ſtretching far and doing much there. Moreover, I ſhall dreſſe the means, for the more ſecurity, to make my ſon be delivered into the hands of the ſaid King, or in the Pope's, as by them ſhall be thought beſt; but with paction and promiſe to let and ſet him at full liberty whenſoever I ſhall ſo deſire, or that, after my death itſelf, being Catholic, he ſhall deſire to repair again to this iſle; without that ever the ſaid King ſhall pretend nor attempt any thing to my prejudice or my ſon's, if he yield himſelf Catholic in the ſucceſſion of this crown. This is the beſt hoſtage that I and the ſaid Lords of Scotland can give to the ſaid King, for performance of that

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which may depend of them in the ſaid enterprize. But withal, muſt there be a Regent eſtabliſhed in Scotland, that have commiſſion and power of me and my ſon (whom it ſhall be eaſy to make paſs the ſame, he being once in the hands of the ſaid Lords), to govern the country in his abſence; for which office I find none ſo fit as the Lord Claude *, as well for the rank of his houſe, as for his manhood and wiſdom. And, to ſhun all jealouſy of the reſt, and ſtrengthen him the more, he muſt have a council appointed him of the principal Lords, without whom he ſhall be bound not to ordain any thing of importance. I ſhould think myſelf moſt obliged to that King, that it would pleaſe him to receive my ſon, to make him be inſtructed and reduced to the Catholic religion; which is the thing of this world I moſt deſire; affecting a great deal rather the ſalvation of his ſoul, than to ſee him Monarch of all Europe. And I fear much, that ſo long as he ſhall remain where he is (amongſt thoſe who found all his greatneſs upon the maintenance of the religion which he profeſſeth), it ſhall never lye in my power to bring him in again to the right way; whereby there ſhall remain in my heart a thouſand regrets and apprehenſions if I ſhall die, to leave behind me a tyrant and perſecutor of the Catholic Church. If you ſee or perceive the ſaid Ambaſſador to take hold of the ſaid overtures, and doth put you in hope of a good anſwer thereunto, which you ſhall inſiſt to have with all diligence, I would, in the mean while, that you ſhould write to the Lord Claude, letting him underſtand, how that the ſaid King is ſet on this country, and deſireth to have the aſſiſtance of the Catholics of Scotland, to ſtop, at the leaſt, that from thence this Queen have no ſuccours. And, to that effect, you ſhall pray the ſaid Lord, to ſound and grope the minds hereunto of the principal of the Catholic Nobility in Scotland, and others who, under other pretext, he might bring into their party; to the end you may make open light

* Hamilton.

whereby

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whereby the ſaid King may ſee, what he might look for in ſuch caſe at their hands, and alſo know what ſuccours and ſupports both of men and money they would require of the ſaid King to hold Scotland at their devotion withal: moreover, that he declare unto you, particularly, the names of thoſe that are to enter into this band, and what forces they are able to make together. And to the end they may be the more encouraged herein, you may write plainly to the ſaid Lord Claude, that you have charge of me to treat in this matter with him. But, for your firſt letter, I am not of opinion that you diſcover yourſelf farther unto him, nor unto any other at all, until you have received anſwer of the ſaid King; which being conform to this deſign, then may you open more unto the ſaid Lord Claude; ſhewing him, that to aſſure himſelf of my ſon, and to the end, (if it be poſſible) that things be paſt and done under his name and authority, it ſhall be needful to ſeize his perſon, in caſe that willingly he cannot be brought to this enterprize; yea, and that the ſureſt were to deliver him into the King of Spain's hands, or the Pope's, as ſhall be thought beſt; and that, in his abſence, he depute the ſaid Lord Claude, his Lieutenant-general and Regent of the government of Scotland, which you are aſſured I may be eaſily perſuaded to confirm and approve: for, if it be poſſible, I will not, for divers reſpects, be therein named, until the extremity. To perſuade hereunto the Lord Claude, it ſhall be good, that you aſſure him, by all means you can, of my good will towards him and his houſe; that you promiſe to travel to aboliſh all remembrance or grief of his brother the Lord of Arbrothe's proceedings; and beſides, that you indirectly put him in hope, I ſhall make him be declared lawful heir to the Crown of Scotland, my ſon failing without children; and that thereunto I ſhall make the Catholic Princes of Chriſtendom to condeſcend to maintain him in that right. This is all, which, for that country of Scotland, I can dreſs preſently, upon ſo much as I know of the preſent eſtate

of

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of the affairs of Chriſtendom; charging you, very expreſsly, not to communicate this to any other at all, either Engliſh, French, or Scottiſh; as alſo you ſhall pray the ſaid Bernardino to do the like, and the ſaid Lord Claude not to diſcover by whom this motion is made unto him. I have heard, that laſt year there were 1200*l.* appointed for my ſon; adviſe the P. S. to make them be arreſted, and preſerved for the negociation of this enterprize; for that which was before delivered, was right evil diſperſed and employed. Chartley this 20th of May, 1586.

I can write nothing preſently unto the Lord Claude himſelf, for want of an alphabet between me and him; which now I ſend you here incloſed, without any mark on the back, that you may ſend it him. And if, by any nearer means, which I will eſſai to find on this ſide, I may write therein, I ſhall not fail to remember, by the ſame, or the firſt other I can find fitteſt, the good teſtimony and aſſurance you give me of this dutiful affection towards me and my ſervice.

Your letters dated the 10th of April, with the whole mentioned therein, I received of late; but have no leiſure to anſwer thereunto, by reaſon of the meſſenger's haſte to be diſpatched herewith, at this day preſcribed for the purpoſe. The want ſhall be ſupplied as ſoon as I can. And whereas, here above, I promiſe to ſend you an alphabet for the Lord Claude; I am even now put in hope of a mean of convoy, direct from hence, to Scotland, whereby I do intend to ſend the ſaid alphabet, and ſo retain the ſame for that way, as the ſureſt and ſpeedieſt. In the mean while, I would not omit to aſſure you, that it is my intention your penſion be continued in ready payment; as I took good order therefore, and for his part, at de Cherolles being here, whereof he can well inform you, if he liſt.

Gilbert

ELIZA-
BETH.
1586.

* *Gilbert Curll's ſuperſcription as followeth:*

THIS letter I had firſt written by the Queen my Miſtreſs's own hand, and gave it her again; which was firſt written in French, and after tranſlated by me,

GILBERT CURLL.

2d September, 1586.

Indorſed two different ways thus:

Copy of Charles Paget, his letter,

AND

Curll's tranſcript of the Queen's letter.

* Theſe words are in the Lord Treaſurer Burghley's hand-writing.

No.

ELIZABETH. 1586.

No. XV.

Evidence againſt the Queen of Scots.

[This report of the evidence againſt the Queen of Scots at Fotheringay, and the confeſſions of her Secretaries afterwards in the Star Chamber, is much fuller than *that* given by Camden in his hiſtory, or the account printed in the State Trials; and the crime of *compaſſing and imagining* Queen Elizabeth's death ſeems fully proved againſt her.]

Die Martis, xxv. *Octobris* 1586.

From a Copy of the trial in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.

THE Commiſſioners being all (except the Earls of Shrewſbury and Warwick, and Sir Amias Paulet), aſſembled within the Star Chamber, a recapitulation was made by her Majeſty's Privy Council, of all ſuch proofs as had been made againſt the Scots Queen, before them at Fotheringay, &c. After which Nau and Curle were brought perſonally before the Commiſſioners, and, in their preſences, did avow and maintain all their confeſſions, examinations, and ſubſcriptions to be true, in ſuch manner and form, as they have written and made the ſame. And they did, then and there, expreſsly affirm and maintain, that the Scots Queen had received and read Babington's letters, and that, by her direction and expreſs commandment, the anſwer unto all the points thereof, was returned unto Babington in her name, according as in the letter is ſet down.

Alſo, that, the ſame 12th of July, ſhe did write to the Lord Paget, to Charles Paget, to Mendoza, to Sir Francis Inglefield, and to the Archbiſhop of Glaſcow, concerning Babington's plot, &c. Whereupon the Lords and other the Commiſſioners, conferred together in ſecret,

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ſecret, and afterwards, as it is ſaid, concluded upon their judgment. And they called in the Queen's Serjeants, the Attorney and Solicitor, and before them, as it is ſaid, gave their ſentences, by which all the Commiſſioners preſent, except the Lord Zouch, pronounced, that the Scots Queen was privy, &c. and that ſhe had compaſſed and imagined the death of her Majeſty our Sovereign Lady, only the Lord Zouch, as it is ſaid, gave his ſentence, that ſhe was privy to the compaſſing, practiſing, and imagining of her Majeſty's death, but he could not pronounce that ſhe had compaſſed, practiſed, or imagined the ſame, &c. And then Mr. Sanders was called for in, to take notice of this ſentence.

Note, That the Earl of Shrewſbury ſent his judgment in writing, containing his conſent unto the ſame; and ſo afterwards did the Earl of Warwick.

The Commiſſion reciteth the Statute made in the 27th year of the Queen's Majeſty's reign, and authoriſeth the Commiſſioners to examine, whether Mary the Scots Queen, ſince the 1ſt of June, the ſame 27th year, hath compaſſed or imagined any thing tending to hurt the Queen's Majeſty's perſon; or whether ſhe hath been privy, that any other perſon hath compaſſed or imagined any thing tending to the hurt of her Highneſs's perſon, and thereupon to give ſentence or judgment, as upon good proof the matter ſhall appear.

She was directly charged by the Queen's Serjeants, that ſhe had compaſſed and imagined the death and deſtruction of her Majeſty, and alſo was privy and conſenting to the conſpiracies and treaſons of Anthony Babington, and John Ballard, and their confederates, and ſo was within the compaſs of both the ſaid articles of the ſtatute and commiſſion.

For declaration whereof, firſt, it was opened, that Ballard being a ſeminary prieſt, and one that, by the ſpace of five or ſix years, had ranged through many parts of the realm, diſguiſed in apparel, and under ſundry ſeveral names, ſeducing the Queen's ſubjects, and with-

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drawing them from their due obedience, did go into France, in Lent laſt paſt; and about a week after Eaſter, had conference in Paris with Charles Paget, Thomas Morgan, and Bernardino de Mendoza, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador there, touching the invading of this realm, by foreign forces, rebellion to be ſtirred amongſt her Majeſty's ſubjects, and a ſtrong party to be made to aſſiſt and join with the invaders, and the Scots Queen to be delivered. In which enterprize, Charles Paget affirmed, that there was no hope to prevail during her Majeſty's life.

Hereupon, Ballard was ſent into England, by direction from Charles Paget, and Mendoza, to ſolicit and practiſe the execution of this their complot.

He returned to London upon Whitſunday, being the 22d of May, and within four or five days after, he conferred with Babington, and acquainted him with all the whole plot of theſe treaſons.

In this conference, Babington and Ballard reſolved, that all foreign power and invaſion were in vain, unleſs the Queen's Majeſty were taken away. Whereupon they concluded, that ſix gentlemen ſhould undertake the killing of her Majeſty, and that Savage, who before that time was ſolicited at Rheims to execute that wicked action alone, and thereupon had vowed to perform that accordingly, and was come into England for that purpoſe, ſhould forbear to attempt it alone, and ſhould be one of the ſix; and at the time of the execution thereof, Babington, and certain others with him, ſhould deliver the Scots Queen.

Theſe things, with many other material circumſtances and parts of their treaſons, were directly and voluntarily confeſſed, by divers of the principal conſpirators, both before and at their arrangement, as appears by the record; whereupon, to their deſerts, and the juſtice of the law, they were attainted and accuſed.

After this declaration thus made, the proof againſt the Scots Queen was entered into, and proſecuted, as hereafter followeth.

Firſt,

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Firſt, was read a confeſſion made by Babington, written all with his own hand, and delivered to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, and Mr. Vice Chamberlain, voluntarily and frankly, before he was committed to the Tower; wherein he ſetteth down at large, about four years paſt, being in Paris, that he did there grow acquainted with Thomas Morgan, who brought him to the Biſhop of Glaſcow, Ambaſſador Ledger in France for the Queen of Scots, and they both recommended their Miſtreſs unto him, as a moſt wiſe and virtuous Catholic Princeſs, declaring the certain expectation of her future greatneſs in this land, by reaſon of the undoubted title to this Crown, as next in ſucceſſion.

And after his return in England, they, by their letters, commended him to her ſervice; whereupon, ſhe wrote unto him a letter of congratulation.

After which he was ſolicited by other letters from Morgan, to be an intelligencer for her, and convey her letters and packets.

This courſe of ſervice he continued for the ſpace of two years; and about a quarter of a year before her remove from the Earl of Shrewſbury's keeping, left it off, and diſcontinued the ſame until July laſt. At which time he received from her a ſhort letter in cypher, by a boy unknown unto him, ſignifying her diſcontent for breach of their intelligence, requiring the ſame to be renewed. And that ſhe would ſend ſome packets unto him, which ſhe had received from Thomas Morgan, in April laſt before.

He doth alſo ſet down at large, what conference paſſed between Ballard and him, and the whole plot of the conſpiracies and treaſons.

He declareth further, that he did write a letter to the Scots Queen, touching every particular of this their plot, and ſent it by the ſame unknown boy.

Unto which ſhe anſwered, twenty or thirty days after, in the ſame cypher, by which he wrote unto her, but by another meſſenger;

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the tenor of both which letters he carried ſo well in memory, that he reported and ſet down fully all the principal points of the ſame, as upon conference of his ſaid declaration, with the copies of the ſame letters, it appeareth.

He affirmeth alſo, that he ſhewed the letter of Queen of Scots to Titchborne, who did aſſiſt him in the decyphering of the ſame; and that he ſhewed a copy thereof to Ballard and others.

After the reading of Babington's declaration aforeſaid, a part of Ballard's examination was likewiſe read, concurring with the ſame; wherein he affirmeth, that Babington ſhewed him a copy of the letter which he did write to the Queen of Scots; and alſo a part of the letter which the Scots Queen did write for anſwer to him, the whole not being then decyphered; and ſetteth down, very certainly, divers material points of the ſame.

Titchborne and Dunne, in their ſeveral examinations, do alſo affirm that Babington did impart unto them the ſame letter from the Queen of Scots; and do likewiſe report ſundry particularities of the ſame, and Titchborne affirmeth farther, that he, at Babington's requeſt, did write a great part of the ſame, as Babington did decypher it, and read it unto him.

After this was read a copy of the letter written by Babington to the Scots Queen, wherein theſe material and effectual parts were, and are to be noted. Firſt, he termed her his dread Sovereign Lady and Queen, and acknowledged all fidelity and obedience to her only.

He ſignifieth unto her, that upon advertiſement by Ballard from beyond the ſeas, of the purpoſe of certain foreign powers to invade this realm, he hath now ſtaid on purpoſe to do her ſacred Majeſty one day's good ſervice.

That he communicated this his purpoſe to ſuch of the friends as he beſt truſted; and ſaith, that upon conference with them, he hath found theſe things, firſt to be adviſed in this great and honourable action, upon the iſſue whereof depended her life, and the weal and honour of our country.

Firſt,

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Firſt, for aſſuring of the invaſion, ſufficient ſtrength in the invaders, ports to be appointed for the foreign Princes to arrive at, with a ſtrong party at every place to join with them, to warrant their landing. Then, the deliverance of the Scots Queen, and the diſpatching of the uſurping competitor, the effecting whereof he doth vow and proteſt, or elſe their lives to be loſt in the execution thereof.

In all theſe particular points, he prayeth her direction, and for the avoiding of delay, that ſhe by her princely authority would enable ſuch as may advance the affair; ſeeing that it is neceſſary, that ſome there be that become heads, to lead the multitude, ever diſpoſed by nature, in this land, to follow the nobility: he offereth alſo, to recommend ſome unto her, fit, in his knowledge, to be her Lieutenants in the Weſt Parts, North Wales, and the countries of Lancaſter, Derby, and Stafford.

He promiſeth, that himſelf, with ten gentlemen, and one hundred of their followers, would deliver her from her keeper.

And for the diſpatch of the Uſurper (from the obedience of whom he ſaith, that by the excommunication of her, they were made free), ſix noble Gentlemen, all his private friends, would undertake that tragical execution.

He prayeth her, that by her wiſdom it be reduced to method, and that her deliverance be firſt, for that thereupon depended their only good, and all other circumſtances ſo to concur, that the untimely beginning of one, do not overthrow the reſt.

He ſubſcribeth

Your Majeſty's faithful ſubject,

and ſworn ſervant,

ANTHONY BABINGTON.

Then

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Then was read a copy of the Scots Queen's letter to Babington, in anſwer of his, whereby ſhe termeth him truſty and well-beloved; ſhe commendeth his zeal and entire affection towards her; ſhe accepteth and alloweth his offers; ſhe declareth, that ſhe hath long time dealt with foreign Princes touching theſe actions, always putting them in mind, how dangerous their delays were to the Catholics. She willeth him to aſſure their principal friends, that albeit ſhe had not in this cauſe any particular intereſt, that which ſhe may pretend, being of no conſideration unto her, in reſpect of the public good of the State, ſhe would be always ready and moſt willing to employ herein her life, and all that ſhe hath, or may ever look for in this world.

To ground ſubſtantially this enterprize, ſhe adviſeth to examine deeply.

1ſt. What forces they could raiſe within the realm, and what Captains to be appointed in every ſhire, in caſe a chief General cannot be had.

2. Of what towns, ports, and havens, they could aſſure themſelves, as well in the North, as Weſt and South, to receive ſuccours from the Low Countries, Spain and France.

3d. What places they eſteemed moſt fit, and of greateſt advantage, to aſſemble their forces at, and which way and whither to march.

4th. What foreign forces, as well on horſe, as on foot, they required, and for how long pay.

5th. What proviſion of money and armour, in caſe they wanted, they would aſk.

6th. By what means the ſix gentlemen did deliberate to proceed.

7th. And the manner how ſhe was to be delivered out of hold.

She deviſeth, that after they had amongſt themſelves taken their beſt reſolution, that then they ſhould impart the ſame to Mendoza, and ſhe promiſeth to write unto him of the matter, with all the earneſt

earneſt recommendation ſhe could; and alſo to any elſe that ſhould be needful. ELIZABETH. 1586.

The affairs being thus prepared, and forces in readineſs both without and within the realm, ſhe ſaith, that then ſhall it be time to ſet the ſix Gentlemen to work; taking order, upon the accompliſhing of their deſign, that ſhe ſhould be ſuddenly tranſported from the place of her reſtraint, and all their forces to be at the ſame time in the field, and meet her, in tarrying for the arrival of the foreign aid, which muſt be haſtened with all diligence.

And for that there can be no certain day appointed for the accompliſhing of the ſaid Gentlemen's deſignment, ſhe willeth, that others may be in a readineſs to take her from thence; that the ſaid Gentlemen have always about them (or at the leaſt at the Court), four ſtout men, with ſpeedy horſes, to diſpatch by divers ways, ſo ſoon as the ſaid deſign ſhould be executed, to bring intelligence to thoſe which ſhould undertake her deliverance, ſo that ſhe might be taken from the keeper, before he could hear of the execution of the ſaid deſign, or at the leaſt, before he could remove her to any other place, or fortify the place wherein ſhe remained; and at the ſame inſtant to eſſay to cut off the poſts ordinary ways.

She giveth earneſt warning not to ſtir on this ſide, before they be well aſſured of foreign forces, nor to take her away, before they were well aſſured, to ſet her in the midſt of a good army, or ſome very good ſtrength, where ſhe might ſafely ſtay for the aſſembly of their forces, and arrival of foreign Princes.

She referreth to Babington to aſſure the Gentlemen above mentioned, of all that ſhall be requiſite of her part, for the entire execution of their good will.

She promiſeth to eſſay, at the ſame time that the work ſhall be in hand in theſe parts, to make the Catholics of Scotland to ariſe, and put her ſon into their hands, to effect that, from thence, her enemies here may not prevail of any ſuccour.

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She willeth alſo, ſome ſtirring in Ireland were laboured, for to begin ſome while before any thing were done here, to the end that the alarm might be given thereby, on the flat contrary ſide that the ſtroke ſhould come.

That for a General, it were good to ſound obſcurely the Earl of Arundell, or ſome of his brethren: and likewiſe to ſeek upon the young Earl of Northumberland, if he be at liberty; and the Earl of Weſtmorland, and the Lord Paget, ſhould be brought home ſecretly; and with them ſome more of the principal baniſhed men ſhould return.

She directeth three means for her delivery; viz. fifty or threeſcore to deliver her from her keeper, when ſhe was riding to take air on the moors between Chartley and Stafford.

Or to ſet fire in the barns and ſtables at Chartley, in the night-time, and when her guardian ſervants ſhould go forth to quench the fire, then the others to enter and take her away.

Or to cauſe ſome of the carts, which came with proviſion very early, to be overturned in the great gates, by practice with the cart-drivers, ſo that the gates could not be ſhut, and then thoſe which were appointed for her delivery, to enter the houſe upon the ſudden, and to take her away.

Finally, ſhe requireth, for God's ſake, that albeit they cannot compaſs her delivery, yet notwithſtanding they ſhould not let to proceed in the reſt of the enterprize.

She concludeth, what iſſue ſoever the matter taketh, ſhe will think herſelf obliged to Babington ſo long as ſhe liveth, for his offer to hazard himſelf (as he doth) for her delivery.

Both theſe copies of the two ſeveral before-mentioned letters, were adviſedly peruſed by Babington, and thereupon he did voluntarily confeſs the ſame to be the true copies of his letter to the Scots Queen, and of her anſwer to the ſame, and for affirmation thereof, he ſubſcribed his name to every page of both the ſaid copies with his own hand.

In

In doing whereof, he was ſo circumſpect and careful, that finding two or three words miſtaken in the writing of the copy of the letters, he ſtruck out the ſame, before he did ſubſcribe it.

Hereupon, it was urged and inferred by her Majeſty's learned Council, that if Babington's letter came to the Scots Queen's hands, then it was apparent that ſhe was privy to the conſpiracy for the taking away of her Majeſty's life. And likewiſe, if ſhe did write unto Babington to ſuch effect, as in his declaration written with his own hand, and in the ſame copy recognized and ſubſcribed by him, is contained, then it cannot be avoided, but that ſhe did not only compaſs and imagine, but did alſo practiſe, the deſtruction of her Highneſs, and ſo was directly within both the parts of the commiſſion and ſtatute.

Hereunto, the Scots Queen, after her proteſtation, anſwered, that ſhe never ſaw nor knew Babington; and denied that ſhe received any ſuch letter from him, or that ſhe wrote any ſuch letter to him, or that ſhe was privy to his conſpiracies, or that ſhe did ever practiſe, compaſs, imagine, or was privy of any thing to the deſtruction of her Majeſty, or to the hurt of her perſon; confeſſing nevertheleſs, that ſhe had uſed Babington as an intelligencer for her, and for the conveying of letters and packets.

And ſhe added further, that ſhe was not to be charged, but either by her word, or by her writing, and ſhe was ſure they had neither the one nor the other to lay againſt her.

After which anſwer, ſo by her made, divers other matters were alleged, and ſhewed forth, to prove that ſhe did receive the ſame letters from Babington, and did alſo write anſwer unto him, as the before-mentioned copies did purport; with farther proof, as hereafter followeth:

Firſt, it was inferred, that ſince both the letters were written in the cypher uſed between the Scots Queen and Babington, and all the points of Babington's letter directly and effectually anſwered by

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the other, it cannot be, but that ſhe received his letter, and ſo made the anſwer unto the ſame; and the alphabet of the ſame cypher being found amongſt papers, and ſhewed to Babington, he acknowledged and thereupon ſubſcribed his name to the ſame, as it appeared.

Alſo, the imparting of the ſame letter by Babington to Titchborne, who did help to decypher part of it, and to Ballard, Dunne, and others, when he was at liberty, and feared not the diſcovery of his treaſons, but hoped then, within ſhort time, to bring the ſame to his deſired effect, is a ſtronger proof of the ſame letters.

Beſides the voluntary declarations and confeſſions of the ſame letters by Babington, Ballard, Titchborne, and Dunne, after their apprehenſion, and their conſtant perſiſting in the ſame, before and after the time of their arraignment, and till their death, without retracting any part thereof, enforceth greatly the credit of the ſame.

And there is no likelihood or probability that Babington, or any one, would of himſelf deviſe and impute to others, a matter of ſo great importance and extreme danger.

Then it was added further, that beſides the matters before mentioned, it was manifeſt, as well by the declarations and confeſſions of Nau and Curle, her ſervants and ſecretaries, ſubſcribed with their own hands, without torture or conſtraint, and by their voluntary oaths verifying the ſame, that the Scots Queen did receive the ſame letter from Babington, and cauſed the ſame to be decyphered, and after advice, reading, and conſideration thereof, cauſed the ſaid anſwer to be written to Babington in her name.

And for proof thereof, it was alleged, that the copies of the ſame letters being ſhewed by ſome of the Lords of the Council, to Nau and Curle, they, upon reading and peruſing thereof, ſubſcribed their names thereunto, affirming the ſame, and acknowledging that the Scots Queen received the ſame from Babington, and thereupon ſhe did give direction for the writing of the other unto him; which was verified, by ſhewing forth the ſame copies ſo ſubſcribed by them.

And

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And Nau ſetteth down in writing with his own hand, the 6th of September, that the Scots Queen did commonly hold this courſe, in receiving and writing of letters of ſecrecy and importance, viz. that all letters written to her, were opened in her Cabinet, in her own preſence, and decyphered by her own commandment; and ſuch letters as ſhe did write to others, ſhe did firſt either write the ſame in French with her own hand, or give direction to Nau to write the ſame; after which, the ſame being peruſed by her, or read unto her, if they were to be written in Engliſh, then did Curle tranſlate them out of French into Engliſh, and did eftſoons read them unto her, the ſame being ſo tranſlated; which being done, Curle did put the ſame in cypher, and ſo they were ſent away. He affirmeth farther, in his ſaid declaration, that the Scots Queen gave direction for the writing of the ſaid letter to Babington, and that in the writing thereof, the courſe aforeſaid was holden.

There was alſo ſhewed forth a paper written by Nau, containing ſhort minutes and notes of the principal points of Babington's letter, and of the Scots Queen's letter to Babington, which was found amongſt her papers at Chartley, which being ſhewed unto Nau by ſome of the Lords of the Council, he upon ſight thereof confeſſed it to be his own hand, ſaying, that upon reading Babington's letter to the Scots Queen, and her direction given for the anſwering of the ſame, he did ſet down the ſame notes, to ſerve as a memorial for him, for the writing of other letters; and this his confeſſion, in that behalf, did he ſubſcribe in the ſame paper, with his own hand, in preſence of the ſaid Lords, and put his name thereunto; and after, in another examination, affirmeth the ſame.

In this paper, amongſt other points, is contained *Le Coup*, which can hardly be conſtrued to be meant otherwiſe, than the blow or ſtroke for killing of her Majeſty, being written upon ſome occaſion, and to ſuch end, as Nau hath declared, as is aforeſaid.

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Alſo, Curle peruſing an abſtract of the principal points of both the ſaid letters, did confeſs and affirm the ſame, and thereupon, before the ſaid Lords, did with his own hand ſubſcribe his ſaid affirmation, and put his name thereunto.

The ſame points were put into French by Nau, and written all with his own hand, and by him likewiſe confeſſed to be the matters contained in the ſame letters, and thereupon alſo he did ſubſcribe his name to the ſame.

Beſides, Nau being examined before the Lords aforeſaid, the 21ſt of September, touching the ſaid letters, ſaid that Curle did decypher Babington's letter to the Scots Queen, and after he (the ſaid Nau) did read it unto her, and ſhe reſolved to make anſwer unto the ſame.

And ſaith further, that he took the points contained in the Scots Queen's letter to Babington, of her own mouth, from point to point, in the ſame manner as he put in writing; whereupon he did draw the letter in French, and after brought it unto her, and ſhe corrected it in ſuch ſort as it was ſent to Babington. And ſaith, that the Scots Queen delivered unto him by her own ſpeech, theſe points following, for anſwer of Babington's letter, upon conſideration of the ſame letter from Babington, wherein the ſame points were contained, viz.

What forces were to be had here, what havens and ports, what places fitteſt for the forces to aſſemble; what foreign forces they required; what proviſion, money, and armour; by what means the ſix Gentlemen meant to proceed; and the manner how ſhe was to be delivered out of hold.

He ſaith alſo, that the clauſe of the aſſociation upon pretence to withſtand the Puritans, was deviſed by the Scots Queen herſelf, and was by her direction put into the ſaid letter; and ſo likewiſe, the other clauſe that the ſix Gentlemen ſhould have ſome ſtout men well horſed, to give ſpeedy intelligence when the deſignment ſhould be executed.

This

This examination of Nau was firſt ſet down in Engliſh, according as he delivered it by ſpeech, and being read unto him, he did ſubſcribe his name unto the ſame, and after, upon peruſal and further conſideration thereof, he did ſet down in French with his own hand the ſubſtance thereof.

Curle being likewiſe examined before the ſaid Lords, the ſaid 21ſt September, ſaith, that he decyphered Babington's letter to the Scots Queen, and then the ſame was read unto her by Nau, whereupon ſhe directed Nau to draw an anſwer unto the ſame, which he drew in French, and read it unto her; which being done, Curle put it into Engliſh by her commandment, and after, read it unto Nau, and then, by her commandment, Curle put it into cypher.

He ſaith, that the ſame her letter to Babington had theſe parts, viz. What forces may be raiſed here; what havens and ports provided; what place fitteſt for the forces to aſſemble; what foreign forces they required; what proviſion, money, and armour, they would aſk; by what means the ſix Gentlemen meant to proceed, and how they meant to deliver her out of hold. And that the ſame letter contained a clauſe alſo, that the ſix Gentlemen ſhould have four ſtout men, well horſed, to give advertiſement ſo ſoon as the deſignment ſhould be executed; and contained three means for her delivery out of hold; and had alſo a device for an aſſociation to be pretended againſt the Puritans. He ſaith alſo, ſhe willed him to burn the Engliſh copy of the letters ſent to Babington.

Theſe examinations of Nau and Carle were ſubſcribed with their own hands, and affirmed upon their oaths, voluntarily taken before the Lords and Judges, and ſo ſome of the ſaid Lords and Judges did openly affirm.

All theſe confeſſions and declarations, examinations and ſubſcriptions, of Nau and Curle, were verified by the oath of Mr. Thomas Powell, Clerk of the Crown, who was preſent when they did write and depoſe the ſame, and being ſhewed to the Scots Queen, ſhe confeſſed the

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the ſame to be the hands of Nau and Curle; albeit, as ſhe ſaid, Nau had not written his name as he did uſually accuſtom to ſign; but ſhe denied earneſtly, that ſhe did ever receive the ſame letter from Babington, or write the other unto him, whatſoever Nau and Curle had ſaid or depoſed, ſaving ſhe did take them to be honeſt men; but ſhe did not know what apprehenſion, torture, fear, or hope of favour, might make in them.

After theſe proofs thus produced and ſhewed, it was alleged further, that the Scots Queen had not only intelligence by Babington of Ballard's negociation in France, from the agents in France, and with what direction, and for what purpoſe he was ſent from thence into England, but had alſo the like intelligence out of France, from her agents there.

And thereupon was ſhewed forth a copy of a letter written to the Scots Queen by Charles Paget the 26th of May 1586, *ſtilo novo*, which was decyphered by Curle, and being ſhewed to him by ſome of the Lords, the 25th of September, he confeſſed the ſame, as well by ſpeech, as by his own voluntary ſubſcription, and putting his name thereunto. Whereby Charles Paget did ſignify what conference Ballard had with him and Mendoza; and what plot they had levied for the invaſion of the realm, and ſtirring of rebellion; and what directions Mendoza had given unto Ballard.

It was alſo alleged, that after the Scots Queen had received the ſaid letter from Babington, and had written anſwer, point for point, to the ſame, and given direction, touching the whole plot, promiſing withal to write to Mendoza, and to any elſe that ſhould be needful, ſhe did, accordingly, the 27th of July, make diſpatch of five ſeveral letters, all touching the ſame action, viz. three into France, one to Mendoza, another to Charles Paget, and the third to the Biſhop of Glaſcow; and two into Spain, one to the Lord Paget, and another to Sir Francis Inglefield.

She

She wrote to Mendoza, that ſhe was ſo diſcouraged from entering into any new purſuits, ſeeing the ſmall effect of thoſe in times paſt, that ſhe ſhut up her eyes to divers overtures and propoſitions that were made unto her by the Catholics within ſix months paſt, having no means to give them ſound anſwer. ELIZABETH. 1586.

But upon that, which of late again ſhe underſtood of the good intention of the King of Spain towards theſe quarrels, ſhe had written very amply to the principal of the ſaid Catholics, upon a deſign which ſhe ſent, with her advice upon every point, to reſolve amongſt themſelves, for the execution thereof; and for fear of loſs of time, ſhe gave them order to diſpatch unto Mendoza, with all diligence, one from among them, ſufficiently inſtructed to treat with him, according to the general propoſitions which have been already made unto him, of all things which they were to demand of him in that affair with the King his Maſter.

Further, ſhe anſwereth him on their behalf, upon their faith and word given unto her, that they would faithfully and ſincerely accompliſh, with the hazard of their lives, that which they ſhould promiſe by their Deputy, and therefore prayeth Mendoza to give all credit therein, as if herſelf had diſpatched him.

She ſaith further, that ſhe would inform Mendoza with the means of her eſcape, which ſhe would take upon her to perform, ſo as afore hand ſhe may be aſſured of ſufficient forces to receive and preſerve her within the land, whilſt all the armies may aſſemble.

The original draught of this letter written in French by Nau, and by him ſubſcribed and confeſſed, was ſhewed to the Scots Queen, which ſhe confeſſed to be his hand, but ſaid, it was nothing to this matter.

There is alſo a copy of the ſame in Engliſh, of Nau's hand, and ſubſcribed and ſigned by him.

She did write unto Charles Paget, that, upon return of Ballard, the principal of the Catholics did impart unto her, their intention and

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conference to that which Charles Paget wrote, but more particularly aſking her direction for the execution of the whole, and that ſhe made them a very ample diſpatch, containing the device, point by point, in all things requiſite, as well on this ſide, as without the realm, to bring their deſignment to good effect.

That ſhe directed them, that for loſing no time, having taken reſolution amongſt them, upon her diſpatch, they would make haſte to impart the ſame to Mendoza, ſending over therewith, either the ſaid Ballard, or ſome other the moſt faithful and ſecret they could find. That ſhe promiſed to write to Mendoza, as ſhe did preſently, to give credit to the ſaid meſſenger. So that if the Pope and King of Spain had even intention to provide for the iſle, the occaſion is preſently offered, very advantageous, finding all the Catholics therein univerſally ſo diſpoſed and forward, as there is more ado to keep them back, than put them forward.

That for all difficulties which Mendoza could allege, as for getting her forth of hold, or otherwiſe, he ſhould be thereof ſufficiently cleared and ſatisfied.

That it reſteth only to purſue, ſo hotly as can be, both in Rome and Spain, the grant of ſupport requiſite, of horſemen, footmen, arms, munition, and money.

That her opinion is, and that ſo ſhe hath written to the Catholics, that nothing be ſtirred on this ſide, before they have ſufficient promiſe and aſſurance of the Pope and King of Spain, for the accompliſhment of that which is required of them.

That ſhe would have ſent to Paget, a copy of her diſpatch to the Catholics, were it not that ſhe is ſure, that, by the meſſenger, he ſhould know more thereof than ſhe can write, he being to carry into thoſe parts the reſolution of the whole, and for the ſame reſpect ſhe referred the Lord Paget to be thereof informed by Charles Paget.

She thanketh him for the ſixty crowns he gave to Ballard, promiſing to make him reimburſed of the ſame, by the Ambaſſador.

She

She requireth to know how he hath proceeded with the Lord Claude, in the matter whereof ſhe wrote unto him not long ſince, which being well effected, ſhould well concur with the enterprize here.

Two original draughts of this letter were ſhewed forth, one in French, written by Nau, the other in Engliſh, written by Curle, which they confeſſed by their ſubſcriptions, and affirmed by their oaths, before ſome of the Lords, as Mr. Thomas Powell did then depoſe.

She did write to the Lord Paget, that ſhe doubted not, but he had underſtood by his brother, the overture which a deputy for the Catholics in this realm, had made on their behalf to Mendoza: whereupon, not long ſince ſhe wrote very amply to the principal of the Catholics, for to have, upon a plot which ſhe had dreſſed for them, their common reſolution; and for to treat accordingly with the King of Spain, ſhe addreſſed them to the Lord Paget.

She requireth him to conſider deeply the ſaid plot, and all the particularities neceſſary for the execution of it; namely, for the ſupporting of men, armour, munition and money; which muſt be obtained of the Pope, and of the King of Spain. She requireth to ſolicit the matter there, and to enter betime, becauſe all negociations in that Court are drawn to great length.

This was alſo firſt drawn in French by Nau, and after put into Engliſh by Curle, and both the original draughts of their own hands were ſhewed forth, which they had confeſſed and ſubſcribed before the Lords, and affirmed the ſame by their oaths, as Mr. Thomas Powell did alſo depoſe.

She did write to Sir Francis Inglefield, to give thanks to the King of Spain, for the 12,000 crowns; aſſuring him, that the ſame ſhould be employed to none other uſe, but to the accompliſhment of her eſcape.

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That ſhe feareth the bruit which runneth, of a peace between the King of Spain and this Queen, ſhall retire many to purſue the deſignment of an enterprize of new dreſſed here.

That the principal Catholics of England having, about Eaſter laſt, made their complot together, to riſe in Leiceſter's abſence (myſelf not having wherewith to give them a ſubſtantial anſwer), ſent one from amongſt them to Charles Paget, who made their meſſenger to declare their deſignment to Mendoza, to know if his Maſter the King of Spain would hearken thereunto.

Whereupon all good hope being brought back again unto them, as they ſignified unto her, and finding the ſame in manner confirmed by Inglefield's letter; ſhe made then a very ample diſpatch, by which, upon a plot which ſhe had dreſſed for them, ſhe gave them her advice, point by point, in every thing neceſſary for the execution thereof, and remitting them to take reſolution thereupon.

That for to loſe no time, without ſending again unto her, they ſhould diſpatch, with all diligence, ſome one in their names, choſen, faithful, and ſufficiently inſtructed, to Mendoza.

To impart unto him particularly the plot of their enterprize, and to require ſuch ſupport as is neceſſary of men on foot and horſe, as alſo of armour, munition, and money; of which things, before they had ſufficient promiſe and aſſurance, not to ſtir on this ſide.

That ſhe had cleared the greateſt difficulty, which has always been objected in the like enterprize, viz. her eſcape out of hold, and ſhe hopeth to execute the ſame aſſuredly, as they ſhall deſign it.

That, if a peace be made in France, her couſin of Guiſe, having already great forces, may employ the ſame here, on a ſudden, before the Queen be aware.

Of this letter there was alſo ſhewed for the two original draughts, one written in French by Nau, the other in Engliſh by Curle; which they had likewiſe confeſſed and ſubſcribed before the Lords, and confirmed by their oaths, as Mr. Powell depoſed.

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She did write another letter to the Biſhop of Glaſcow, which, for that, in theſe points, it did in ſubſtance concur with the former, containing alſo ſundry other matters, not pertinent to this accord, was not read, but the firſt draught in French written by Nau, and by him confeſſed and ſubſcribed before the Lords, was only ſhewed forth, for the verifying of the ſame.

After that, the original draughts of theſe letters to Mendoza, and Charles Paget, were ſhewed to the Scots Queen, and were confeſſed by her, to be the hand-writing of Nau and Curle; ſhe refuſed to ſee the draught of ſundry other letters hereafter mentioned, which were likewiſe offered to be ſhewed unto her, ſaying, ſhe cared not whether the ſame were written by them or not, and acknowledging withal, that about that time ſhe made ſeveral diſpatches, to ſuch effects as theſe letters did purport, which was, concerning aid to be procured for her delivery, ſaying, that the ſame was nothing touching the matter wherewith ſhe was charged.

Hereupon it was urged, that this letter concurring directly, in matter and circumſtances, with Babington's letter to her, and her anſwer to the ſame, did prove evidently that ſhe received the one, and did write the other, and ſo was privy, and a compaſſer and practiſer of the deſign of the death of her Majeſty, and on this behalf theſe particularities were ſpecially voted.

She writeth to Mendoza, Charles Paget, and the reſt, that the Catholics did ſignify unto her their intentions, and that ſhe made them an ample diſpatch, giving her advice upon every point, point by point, upon conference together of Babington's letter to her, with her anſwer to the ſame; this appeareth to be true, for by his, ſhe hath intelligence of their plot and intention, and by the other ſhe giveth her direction and advice, point by point.

In her letter to Charles Paget, ſhe writeth, that upon the return of Ballard, the principal of the Catholics had imparted unto her their intentions, conformable to that which Charles Paget wrote unto her;

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but more particularly upon conference of Babington's letter with that of Charles Paget of the 29th of May, it appeareth, that Babington ſetteth down ſundry particularities of the plot, more than are contained in Paget's letter.

In her letter to Babington, ſhe promiſeth to write to Mendoza, and others, and in thoſe which ſhe did write to Mendoza, Charles Paget, &c. ſhe writeth, that ſhe had given ſuch direction; and accordingly Ballard was prepared and ready to have taken that journey, if he had not been prevented by his apprehenſion, as is confeſſed by Ballard, Babington, and Savage.

She writeth to Charles Paget, &c. that the difficulty which hath been objected, touching her delivery out of hold, is cleared, and that ſhe hopeth to have it executed aſſuredly, according to her deſignment.

And accordingly, in Babington's letter to her, and her anſwer to the ſame, the manner and means of her eſcape is ſet down at large.

In her letter to Charles Paget, ſhe ſaith, ſhe hath written to the Catholics, that no ſtirring ſhall be on this ſide, before they have ſufficient promiſe and aſſurance for the accompliſhment of that which is required of the Pope and King of Spain: and in this her letter of anſwer to Babington, it appeareth, that ſhe did write to that effect.

In her letter to Sir Francis Inglefield, ſhe writeth, that for Scotland, ſhe is about to practiſe that her enemies may have no ſuccour thence.

And accordingly, in her letter to Babington, ſhe writeth, that ſhe would eſſay, at the time that the work ſhould be in hand in theſe parts, to make the Catholics of Scotland to ariſe, and put her ſon in their hands, to the effect that from thence her enemies may not prevail of any ſuccours; and withal willeth, that ſome ſtirring in Ireland were laboured for, to begin ſome while before, to the end the alarm may be given on the flat contrary ſide that the ſtroke ſhould come.

Both

Both which her devices have not failed of their ſucceſs, for there have been ſtirs and troubles both in Scotland and Ireland, the latter end of this Summer. ELIZABETH. 1586.

And where the Scots Queen confeſſed, that ſhe had written to procure invaſion and rebellion, and ſeemed to juſtify the ſame as lawful, for to obtain thereby her delivery, it was ſaid, that being within the realm, and protected by the laws, and ſo ſubject to the ſame, ſhe might not uſe thoſe means to compaſs her delivery, whereby the Queen's life was apparently ſought; for invaſion and deſtruction of her Majeſty are ſo linked together, that they cannot be ſingle; for if the invader ſhould prevail, no doubt they would not ſuffer her Majeſty to continue neither government nor her life; and in caſe of rebellion, the ſame reaſon holdeth.

It was further alleged, that, beſides theſe ſeveral letters before mentioned, ſhe did, about the time that theſe things were in hand, write divers letters to ſundry other perſons beyond the ſeas, wherein ſhe taketh herſelf to be the Sovereign of this realm, containing ſundry matters very dangerous as well to our Sovereign the Queen's Majeſty, as to the whole ſtate of this realm. By which her intentions, in the matters wherewith ſhe is now charged, may the better appear.

The 20th of May 1586, ſhe did write to Charles Paget to practiſe with the Spaniſh Ambaſſador in France, to ſtir the King of Spain to invade the realm, and to take revenge on the Queen's Majeſty.

That the ſureſt and readieſt way to rid himſelf altogether from this Queen's malice, is, by purging the ſpring of the malign humours.

That by this long patience, he hath not prevailed any thing, and that there is no other means to ſet up again the King of Spain's affairs in the Low Countries, and to aſſure his eſtate in all other parts, than in re-eſtabliſhing this realm under a Prince his friend.

That if he deliberate, to ſet in this Queen, he aſſureth himſelf of Scotland, either to ſerve him, or to be ſo bridled, as not to ſerve his enemy.

That

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That ſhe will travel by all means, to make her ſon to enter into the enterprize, or, if he cannot be perſuaded thereunto, then ſhe will dreſs a ſecret league and bond amongſt the Catholic Lords of that country, to join with the King of Spain.

That ſhe will make her ſon to be delivered into the hands of the Pope, or King of Spain, with paction to ſet him at liberty whenſoever ſhe ſhall deviſe, or after their death, himſelf, being Catholic, ſhall deſire, without that ever the King of Spain ſhould pretend or attempt any thing to the prejudice of her ſon (if he yield him Catholic), in the ſucceſſion of that Crown.

That a Regent ſhould be eſtabliſhed in Scotland, to govern in the abſence of her ſon, and for that purpoſe named the Lord Claude Hambleton, alias Hamilton.

That ſhe ſhould write to the Lord Claude to procure him to draw the Catholic Lords of Scotland, to be at the King of Spain's devotion. That, after anſwer received from the King of Spain, conformable to this deſign, then Charles Paget to write plainly to the Lord Claude, that he hath charge from her to deal with the Lord Claude in this matter, ſhewing that it is needful to ſeize her ſon's perſon, if he cannot be willingly drawn to this enterprize, and that the next way were to deliver him in to the Pope or the King of Spain.

That Charles Paget ſhould indirectly put the Lord Claude in hope, that ſhe will make him to be declared lawful heir to the Crown of Scotland, her ſon failing without children, and that ſhe will procure the Catholic Princes of Chriſtendom to condeſcend thereunto.

She chargeth him not to communicate theſe things to any, either Engliſh, or French, or Scottiſh, and to pray Mendoza, and the Lord Claude, to do the like.

The letter was firſt drawn in French by Nau, and then tranſlated in Engliſh, and after put into cypher by Curle, and an extract of the principal points thereof, was confeſſed and ſubſcribed before ſome of the Lords the 25th of September, which was openly read and ſhewed forth.

Then

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Then was read another letter, which the Scots Queen wrote to Mendoza, the ſame 20th of May, concurring with the former to Charles Paget, wherein ſhe writeth, that Charles Paget had a large commiſſion from her, to impart to Mendoza certain overtures on her behalf.

That there was another point depending thereupon, which ſhe had reſerved to write to Mendoza himſelf, to be ſent to the King his Maſter, on her behalf; no man elſe, if it were poſſible, being privy thereunto, viz. That conſidering her ſon's obſtinacy in hereſy, and foreſeeing the imminent danger like to enſue to the Catholic church, he ſucceeding in this Crown; ſhe reſolved, in caſe her ſon were not reclaimed to the Catholic religion, as ſhe had title, to give and grant her right to the King of Spain, in ſucceſſion of this Crown, by her laſt will and teſtament, praying him to take into his protection, both her, and the ſtate and affairs of this realm.

She willeth this to be ſecret; foraſmuch, if it ſhould be revealed, it ſhould be in France, the loſs of her dowry; in Scotland, the clear breach of her ſon; and in this country, her total ruin and deſtruction.

This letter was firſt written in French by the Scots Queen's own hand, and then tranſlated into Engliſh, and put into cypher by Curle, as he confeſſed and ſubſcribed the ſame the 25th of September laſt.

Upon reading of theſe letters, it was noted, that the Scots Queen's intention was, to ſubject this Crown and realm to the King of Spain, to the utter ruin and deſtruction, both of the Queen's Majeſty, and of all the antient nobility, which purpoſe appeareth to be generally holden by the Engliſh fugitives and traitors beyond the ſeas, as Babington and Savage ſet down in their ſeveral confeſſions and declarations; and that their intention is, to procure the King of Spain title to this realm, to be confirmed and inveſted by the Pope, to take away

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away all objections againſt it. And, as Babington ſaith, Dr. Allen and Parſons ſtaid longer at Rome, to ſolicit the ſame.

After this was read, another letter written to the Scots Queen, by Dr. Allen, the 5th of February, wherein he writeth unto her, Madam, my good Sovereign, for our reſolution out of Spain, the whole execution is committed to the Prince of Parma.

That Father Parſons, Owen, and himſelf did bring the King's determination to the Prince, who ſeemed as glad as they, that he might have the effectuating of it; and gave great ſign to do it, ſtrait upon the recovery of Antwerp, but harped ſtill upon this ſtring, that ſhe ſhould by money, or ſome means, put herſelf out of their hands.

Then was read the Scots Queen's letter to Doctor Allen the 20th of May 1586, wherein ſhe called him Reverend Father, and ſaith, they have overſlipped many good occaſions; and wiſheth, that they ſhould not withal omit this new offer, pinching near by this Queen.

Upon theſe letters were inferred, that Dr. Allen did acknowledge her to be his Sovereign, and to be the Queen of this realm in preſent poſſeſſion, and ſhe accepting the ſame, gave him the title of a Biſhop. Whereunto ſhe anſwered, that though Dr. Allen, and divers other foreign Princes, and the Catholics of this realm did ſo take her, yet ſhe could not do withal; but for herſelf, ſhe did not claim to be ſo.

It is alſo to be noted, that the reſolution which was to be put in execution by the Prince of Parma, and which the Scots Queen was ſo careful ſhould not be overſlipt, cannot be thought to be other but matter of great peril to her Majeſty's perſon and this ſtate. And ſo it may alſo be gathered by a letter written by the Prince of Parma to the Scots Queen the 12th of January 1585, where he writeth, that touching the great ſecret, he would keep it, as it becometh, and put to effect as much as ſhe ſhould command, and ſhould be in his power.

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Alſo, the Scots Queen did write to Dr. Lewis, ult. April 1586, wherein ſhe willeth him to impart her congratulations to the new elected Pope, and her affection towards him, chiefly for that ſhe underſtandeth his reſolution bent, to follow, as near as he can, the traces and footſteps of good Pope Pius V. of whoſe memory ſhe beareth a ſingular reverence, for the ſingular compaſſion he had of her preſent ſtate, and his endeavour which he did manifeſt to relieve her.

Whereupon, it is to be noted, that her imaginations be againſt the Queen's perſon and ſtate, ſince ſhe exciteth the Pope to follow the ſteps of Pius V. who publiſhed the bull of excommunication againſt her Majeſty, and thereby denounced her to be no lawful Queen, and diſcharged her ſubjects of their obedience and allegiance; out of which root hath ſprung all the traiterous practices that have ſince been attempted againſt her Highneſs's perſon.

And for the verifying of theſe letters before mentioned, written by the Scots Queen; it is to be remembered, that the original draughts of all theſe letters, ſaving that only which ſhe wrote to Babington, which, as Curle affirmeth, ſhe commanded to be burned, as is before mentioned, were found amongſt her papers at Chartley and put in a cheſt, ſealed up by John Manners, Eſq; Sir Walter Aſhton, Knight, and Richard Bagot, Eſq; which was firſt opened and unſealed, and the ſame draught taken out, by certain of the Lords and others of her Majeſty's Privy Council.

After, on the 24th day of October, the Lords and other Commiſſioners being aſſembled at the Star Chamber at Weſtminſter, to confer of the ſaid matters, and touching their ſentence, Nau and Curle were brought perſonally before them; and the papers, letters, and writings, which they had before confeſſed and ſubſcribed, and affirmed by their oaths, as is aforeſaid, being then and there likewiſe ſhewed unto them, they did then eftſoons voluntarily acknowledge and

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affirm all that to be true, which they had before ſo confeſſed and ſubſcribed, and that they had ſo confeſſed and ſubſcribed the ſame, only in reſpect of the truth, frankly and voluntarily, without any torture, conſtraint, or threatening.

And the ſaid Curle did then alſo further affirm, that as well the letter which Babington did write to the Scots Queen, as the draughts of her anſwer to the ſame, were both burned at her command.

He ſaid alſo, after the decyphering of the ſaid letter written by Babington, and the reading thereof to the Scots Queen, he admoniſhed her of the danger of thoſe actions, and perſuaded her not to deal therein, nor to make any anſwer thereunto: and ſhe thereupon ſaid ſhe would anſwer it, bidding him do that which he was commanded, and which appertained unto him.

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No. XVI.

A letter from Sir Edward Stafford, Ambaſſador in France, to the Queen, with one to Lord Treaſurer Burleigh, incloſing it.

[The importance of this diſpatch wants no recommendation. None of the numerous Hiſtorians and Memoir Writers of this intrigueing time, mention any ſuch propoſal of Henry III. or the confidence which he repoſed in the Engliſh Ambaſſador.

Henry IV. found himſelf obliged ſome years after to follow this advice, which in a private letter to the Belle Gabrielle, he calls "Faire le ſaut perilheux."]

Sir Edward Stafford to the Queen.

1587-8. Feb. 25th.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

FEARING leſt you have loſt the cyphers that I ſent you, I thought for avoiding that miſchance fit, to write to you in a cypher I ſent my Lord Treaſurer at my coming away out of England, with one of the ſame that I ſent your Majeſty, with a few more additions than was in yours. If it pleaſe your Majeſty, if you have not your own in the way, to ſend to him for it; it will decypher this. I ſpake yeſternight with the French King, who ſent for me, by a man quite unknown, to a houſe that I think I can gueſs at again, though it were in the night, and that he brought me far out of the right way to it, where I found nobody in the chamber but himſelf. In the houſe I heard folks, but nobody ſaw me, nor I

From the Original in the Paper Office.

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ſaw nobody, for he that brought me tarried not in the chamber. The King began with me, that he had ſent for me, according as he had ſent me word the laſt day, and upon the truſt and confidence he had in me, and upon the faithful aſſurance I had given him, both in your Majeſty and mine own, that whatſoever he delivered me, I would ſend it directly to your Majeſty's own hands, and that you would do what lay in you for the good of France, and keep it to your Majeſty, ſo that it ſhould never be ſpoken nor heard of, that he had dealt thus ſecretly, or confidently with your Highneſs or any of yours. I told him, that when I made that offer unto him, upon ſome ſpeech that was uſed to me by ſome of his, and that I durſt promiſe your Majeſty would keep it moſt ſecretly, if either I delivered it myſelf or ſent it to your Majeſty to your own hand; that, though I had then no commiſſion to deal, becauſe your Majeſty's ſo often offers to do good had been little ſet by; I had notwithſtanding, preſently after I had ſaid the word, made a diſpatch to ſignify what I had done; that your Majeſty had made anſwer unto me of avowing me, that your good will was, that it had ever been unto the King, that you would continue ſo ſtill; and that for the ſecrecy of it, your Majeſty did aſſure, that whatſoever he did deliver confidently to me, to write to you, that, I did aſſure him, and that whatſoever lay in your Majeſty to pleaſure him in any way that was within the compaſs of your power, or with poſſibility to do it with honour, that it ſhould be done; that all things delivered to me, ſhould never be ſpoke or heard of; that all Princes did uſe counſel in all things of any weight, that your Majeſty's cuſtom was to do ſo to, as reaſon was, but that you had thoſe faithful, wiſe, and ſecret Counſellors, that whatſoever you did communicate to them (whereof there were not many that you uſed in thoſe great matters of weight and ſecrecy) that though you gave them no charge at all, they were ſo diſcreet, as they would eaſily know what were fit to be done: but that I was ſure, that if you did communicate it with any, you would give them that

that particular charge, and take that aſſurance of them, as they neither would, nor durſt but obſerve; and withal, that if he would not, I durſt aſſure him that your Majeſty would never deliver to any that which he delivered to me, but to himſelf. And farther, that whereas that ſome uſed ſome ſpeech to me in the beginning, and Pinard, the laſt day that he came to me from his Majeſty, had caſt out ſuch a word, that your Majeſty did make him theſe offers now to him, to make profit of his dealing with your Majeſty now, to advance the treaty of peace with Spain, that you was in hands withal, to make your Majeſty gainer. That I did proteſt to him from your Majeſty, that you never had ſuch a meaning, nor ſo much as ſuch a thought. That they were evil-diſpoſed people to break the amity between France and England, that had thoſe intentions, which was their only drift; that I durſt anſwer him upon my ſoul, that you never had ſuch a thought. He told me upon that, he would aſſure himſelf upon my promiſe, that I and your Majeſty would perform it in all points; that he would deal plainly with me, and lay his ſtate more open to you than ever he did to any; that he was very well contented you ſhould take advice of any of your ſecret Counſellors whom it pleaſed you; that he knew that you had them that you did aſſure ſhould do nothing paſſing your commandment; that he wiſhed with all his heart to have given of his blood that he had the like, that would depend upon nobody but upon his will, his affairs ſhould not (as he termeth it *pendre a la balance* as they do). That whereas the laſt day he ſent me word by Pinard, the anſwer he did, that it was the Queen Mother and his whole Council's peremptory advice, ſtanding upon it, that it was not fit, that he ſhould deſire your Majeſty to meddle between him and his ſubjects; that thereupon he made the anſwer, and deſired me to ſend it away, as I did by John Fourier, that nothing might be ſuſpected; that I hoped of any thing from him, but that he would deal more plainly with your Majeſty, beſeeching you with all his heart to do it, and without making known to any, that any requeſt came from him, becauſe

they

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they of the religion, as he ſaid, could keep nothing ſecret, and that your Majeſty would perſuade the King of Navarre to have a care of his eſtate, and to accommodate him with his Majeſty in ſuch ſort as the league might have no pretence to ruin France and him both. Whereupon I replied unto him, the impoſſibility that it was for your Majeſty to deal with the King of Navarre in religion, for the reaſons that I had both told him, the other day, and after to Pinard, and which he, by himſelf in this action, might very well conſider. That your Majeſty, I durſt anſwer, would do what you could any way, but to perſuade the King of Navarre any more to change, than you had perſuaded the King of Navarre to take it; that it was a thing you could not meddle in; that if his own judgment would make him do it for the good of his eſtate, that you would not meddle with his conſcience, nor with his ſoul. He anſwered me again, that he would deal as plainly with me, as if I were his ghoſtly father; that as in truth he was ſo much addicted to his religion, as withal he would it had coſt him a piece of his realm and part of his blood, that all the world, but ſpecially France were of it, ſo he was not ſo much a *bigot*, as he termed it, which in Engliſh is *over-ſuperſtitious*, that he would rather let France ruin, and himſelf, than ſuffer liberty and exerciſe both, as he had both done, and would do again with all his heart; but it was now out of his power to do it, or to put France in peace, if he heard ſpeak of religion as things ſtood; that he dealt plainly with me, that his laſt hope to have done it was, by the *Reiſters* * means; who, if they had either valour or diſcretion, might have made the league, upon their knees, aſk that which they had broken in arms, which was, that he expected and looked for, and was the only cauſe that he would take no knowledge of the many offers I made from your Majeſty to ſtay them, if he had deſired it; and that he had given them all the means they deſired to have done it, if they could have taken it, and to have kept themſelves far enough from

* German troops.

him,

him, as he kept himſelf from them, till they would needs come to ſeek him, and by their own evil government had put him to that plunge, that all the world marked him almoſt with their finger; and the league had almoſt overthrown them quite, whereas they had afore then, twice or thrice in their hands to have done the like with them, and have ended all in a day, if they had judgment to have taken it. And when they had failed of thoſe occaſions, if they had ravaged Lorrain, and thoſe places of Champaign and Burgundy that were addicted to them, and left none unſpoiled, that were any way adherents to them; they would have been glad to have prayed, and he would have made them as much have prayed for peace, as they had ſought the contrary. But that, inſtead of annoying them, they came to ſeek him out, and let themſelves be ſo low brought to his hands, as either he muſt have given the league the vantage they deſired over him, and have left them the honour of all; beſides, that he was conſtrained to do as he did to take the honour out of their hands. And yet let them lay (ſaid he) their hands upon their conſciences, thoſe that were ſaved, owe him their lives, conſidering the ſtate they had let themſelves be brought in by the others. And that now all hope of any good that way, was taken away, for that they had let them learn the way that was never thought on afore, to ruin as many armies of *Reiſters* as ever came into France, without fighting, and which he cannot impeach them of without he make himſelf a party againſt them, which cannot be, and that therefore it is not any way poſſible to have them do more good, but harm henceforward, by giving the contrary party, if they come to the help of them, a colour to call in other * ſtrangers, for their defence, that he feareth worſe, and who ſhall be good ſoldiers well governed, and well paid, and that ſhall have all the towns they have at the entry, and in France, to back them, and at their devotion. So that now, whoſoever would be the cauſe of their return, if they could be

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* The Spaniards.

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brought to return (which he doth not believe), would be the cauſe of the utter ſubverſion of the realm, and therefore the utter undoing of the King and the State; and therefore deviſed your Majeſty to conſider that, as one that loved him, as he aſſured, and had reaſon to do, in reſpect that the love of them, one to another, were profitable to both, and to be a means that the colour of maintaining of arms may be taken away, which cannot be, except the King of Navarre yield to him in religion, for keeping the league without colour of arming, did cut their throats; for they were brought into that beggary, as in peace they had not meat to put in their mouths, and every day, more and more, loſt ſome of their affectionate ſervants.

I anſwered him as before, that I knew your Majeſty would do what you could, and what was reaſon, to bring things to peace, and to keep them in it, but by that means I ſaw not how you could do it; for, firſt, to open your mouth to the King of Navarre of that point, I ſaw an impoſſibility; next, though the King of Navarre would do it, though your Majeſty did ſpeak to him of it, I know not how he could do it; for upon the Prince of Condé he had no power. And if the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé would both, there were great numbers in France of the religion, and great numbers of towns and ſtrong holds, over whom if the King of Navarre did that, he ſhould have no more commandment, and then were their colours of religion taken away no more, for the King of Navarre's and Prince of Condé's changing, than before. He anſwered again, that if the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé were changed, the reſt would eaſilier be brought to think upon their conſciences, and to diſpoſe themſelves to obey time; that though that were not, if the two next heirs were Catholics, but ſpecially the King of Navarre, who was the next to fall (whom in the end, what brags ſoever any made, if it were not for religion, would ever, and ſhould acknowledge him to be ſo), theſe miſchiefs that are happened now, under the colour they have taken, and the terror they have

put

put into mens minds, by that of the overthrowing of the Catholic religion by the ſucceſſors that are Huguenots, ſhould ceaſe, and the league brought back again into the ſame ſtate they were in, in Monſieur's time, at which time they could not find means to have this colour to put out their horns. And to that ſtate they ſhould be put to again, to make them pull in their horns, if that cauſe ceaſed, and to their utter overthrow. To the which I anſwered, that there was a probability in the reaſons, if there were a poſſibility to bring them to paſs; but if it pleaſed him, as he had honoured me already, to put his confidence in me, to give me leave to tell him my opinion, I did aſſure him that I did find that probability in them, that if I were of the King of Navarre's Council, and that he did command me not to meddle with his conſcience, but to counſel him the beſt way for the conſervation of his ſtate, and the preſervation of his perſon, that it ſhould be the firſt counſel I would give him, to do that which he deſired; but if I were of his council, I would rather be torn in pieces, than counſel him to deſire it, but rather do what I could to impeach it, if the King of Navarre had any ſuch intent, and would rather wiſh him (ſeeing I had ſeen by proof that pretext of religion could give them that had no intereſt nor expectation to the ſucceſſion, ſuch an authority as they had gotten, as neither the King by his poſſeſſion, nor the King of Navarre with the hope of his ſucceſſion, could pull them out of it), to deſire rather that the King of Navarre ſhould remain as he was, to have that religion to be a bar to impeach him of attempting any thing in his time, than in taking that away, to make him both the ſun riſing clear, to make him to be worſhipped, and to take the eclipſe quite away to ſerve for an object to darken his light. That I did proteſt unto him, that I did think it, and ſo aſſuredly think it, that I durſt hazard my life, the King of Navarre neither had, nor ever would have ſuch a thought, what means ſoever he might have to do otherwiſe; yet I did think it more wiſdom to ſhut up a treaſure houſe with all keys and bars

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that could be found, to impeach them that would rob it, if they had a mind to it, than to leave the doors negligently and wilfully open, to ſet a thief's teeth on edge, and to make him have a mind to it. And ſo in this, would rather counſel him to hazard the pulling down of them, that had no intereſt after him, and to permit, for ſo neceſſary a reſpect, ſo neceſſary an inconvenience in France, than in taking ſo neceſſary a thing away, which he ſhould deſire to be if it were not, to incur the hazard of the greater in avoiding the leſſer: that I deſired him to pardon me, for I proteſted I ſaid no otherwiſe to him, than I would adviſe your Majeſty if you were in the like caſe, with the like circumſtances. I aſſure your Majeſty, that he gave the hearing at leiſure, and was in a ſtudy without anſwering me a good while. At length, with thanks he told me, that every one could rule a ſhrewd wife but he that had her, and that he that had her could tell worſe the way how to rule her; that that was his caſe; but that he had rather hazard the pulling them down with the King of Navarre, which he ſaw a poſſibility in, and ſtand upon thoſe hazards, than in letting them have that colour ſtill, to make it an impoſſible thing to pull them ever upon their knees; but to ſee them ſtrengthen in deſpight of him daily, and which he cannot elſe remedy as things ſtand, but with the hazard of an utter overthrow of him and France. That as for the King of Navarre, having once the pretence of his religion, and then forgone it, the pretence of Catholic religion would never ſerve the King of Navarre, to hurt him in his time. And that though he would bring the league with all his heart as low as he could, he would never ſo utterly overthrow them; that, if the King of Navarre ſhould enter into any ſuch intent, he could quickly raiſe them to help him to impeach him of any ſuch attempt. I deſired him to pardon me, that it was my zeal to have peace and quietneſs that made me bold, and to have thoſe things done for the effecting of it, that were poſſible, and to avoid all inconvenience that might come to impeach ſo good and ſo neceſſary an intent, for the

good

good of both the realms. He told me, he had opened himſelf ſo far, as he never had done to any ſtranger; and but to few of France, and ſo few, as if he did tell it me, I would ſcarce believe it; that he did truſt upon my word, both of that I had given him from myſelf, and in your Majeſty's name, that if he were not kept promiſe withal, he would never have dealing confidently with your Majeſty, nor any of yours. That he proteſted to me, no living creature did know of my coming, but he that brought me, nor he nothing of the matter, nor never ſhould any know more; that if ever it were heard of, he would quite diſown having ſeen me, and have cauſe to do me all the diſgrace that he could, and never to love your Majeſty more, but to hate you as much as he loved you. If you deal well with him in this, and put your helping hand to the ſetting France in quiet, and the pulling it out of the mouth of them that make it a prey to ſtrangers on all ſides, that he, being out of danger within France, may help his neighbours without; which he proteſteth to do in any need, and never to fail them. That his enemies were your Majeſty's, if it were well looked into; that you may firſt help him, becauſe you are in quiet, and have means to do it if you would; and that, he bid me aſſure myſelf he knew, and more than he could tell me, and therefore deſired you to put your helping hand to it. And that though his Council, and ſpecially Queen Mother, diſſuaded him to deſire it at your hands, as a thing unhonourable to him to deſire it, that you ſhould meddle between him and his ſubjects; yet he did ſecretly by me deſire, and beſeech you; and that he ſhould think himſelf beholden to you for it, and moſt of all, for doing it upon his requeſt, and keeping that ſecret that he hath requeſted you, as I have promiſed; for there was nothing would ſo much vantage the league againſt him, as to have known that he had conference in this ſort with your Majeſty, or any of yours. That his caſe, if it were well weighed, were both to be regarded, pitied, and helped; that he had not many to truſt to, when, his neareſt failed him, and they,

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that with all kind of bonds were moſt tied unto him; that he had gone farther with me than he had gone yet with any, or ever meant to do again, and therefore put me again, both of mine own promiſe, and my promiſe in your name, both for yourſelf, and your Counſellors, that if your Majeſty communicate it to any, you take aſſurance of them, that it ſhould never be heard of, which I did again promiſe, and proteſt to him, both in mine own name, and for your Majeſty. And I know you will, and ſo I humbly beſeech you to perform it, or elſe all confidence in you, and all means for me to do you ever any ſervice, is taken away for ever.

This being done, he fell with me into familiar ſpeech of many things of your Majeſty, of your government, of your Counſellors, all the which things I ſatisfied his demands in ſuch ſort, as was fit for me. Then of the Queen of Scots, which I was glad he fell into, becauſe I know there hath been great cunning uſed to keep that ſtill in his mind againſt your Majeſty, as he himſelf confeſſed; and particularly, for I think I left him ſatisfied better than he hath been, and ſpecially for your Majeſty's quite ignorance of it, and mere unwillingneſs to it; which at the firſt he ſmiled at, as not believing it, aſking whether it were poſſible for them? I gave him ſome reaſon that in my poor judgment I thought fit; that I dare aſſure you, he thinks better of it than he did, if he believe it not altogether. From that, how he was preſſed, and by whom, and among the reſt forgat not Queen Mother, that he ſtood upon his honour to revenge it, but ſpecially to help the King of Scots, and to egg him to it; whereunto I prayed him with ſuch reaſons as I could, to make him probably to ſee that their intents were nothing leſs than to care for that; his towns they took in the mean time, and other things they did daily, ſhowed that well enough. He confeſſed it, and ſwore by no ſmall oaths, that, if the King of Navarre be brought to that, that he may help the King of Navarre, or that he may have the King of Navarre to help him, that the marks ſhall remain of it. But that their colour was

ſuch,

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ſuch, and ſo printed in mens minds by art, that the leaſt ſtir in the world, that, not being taken away, cantoneth his towns, and putteth all his ſtate in hazard; that perchance the world might wonder at his manner of dealing hitherto; but his ſtate was not as other men's, nor French humours as other people's; that as things ſtood, he had no way to ſave himſelf whole, but that; and if the King of Navarre do help him, will take another courſe, and be beholden to the King of Navarre, and his friends that ſhall move him to do it. If not, he muſt needs keep the ſame courſe he doth, to ſave the State, and to ſwallow many things againſt his ſtomach, to win time, and do that way that, which he can elſe do no other way. From that, he fell into this peace treating with Spain, which I found he did not believe was meant of any ſide; for of your Majeſty's ſide, he could not believe you believed it could be; and that he knew aſſuredly, that the King of Spain meant it not, or at the leaſt if it do, it is but to ſerve his preſent turn, and to be at quiet for the time to trouble France, where he hath begun. For he proteſted by all the proteſtations that could be, that ſince this treaty began, he hath been continually preſſed by the King of Spain, and is yet daily, and by others, to join to attempt againſt your Majeſty. I did anſwer him, that I could not tell what to think of that, but I knew it was extremely preſſed by the King of Spain; which he aſked me again if I were certain of it, and I aſſured him it, which I think he believeth; and withal, I aſſured him, that you would do nothing to the diſadvantage of him and France, whatſoever you did elſe, which I think he believeth, but yet feareth this colour of treaty, whether it be in effect or no, will give the King of Spain leiſure to trouble him, which as he ſaith, and hath reaſon in it, is neither good for him nor your Majeſty. And withal, told me ſomewhat ſhort, he had reſpect to your Majeſty; and that he, almoſt alone, had held againſt all the world in that, both at home and abroad, to do nothing might annoy you, and that in truth I know to be true; but that if your Majeſty

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had no reſpect to him, in the end, natural reaſon muſt needs carry him away to look the beſt he can to himſelf, and draw him to that which he will ever do unwillingly, whenſoever he is conſtrained to it. I aſſured him ſtill of your good-will, and that the proof of it would ſhow it. He deſired me it might be ſo, for effects muſt be that which muſt ſhew it, and ſware a great oath he would requite it. From that, he complains of his merchants taken, and ſpoiling, daily by Engliſhmen, and a thing that all the world cried out upon him for, and that he bore as long as he could; that beſides the ſubjects of France, whom he owed a care and reſpect to, to preſerve, it was an indignity to him, which miniſtred colour to the evil affected, to pique him daily againſt your Majeſty.

To be ſhort, he deſired reaſon for things paſt, and order that they may happen no more; for he deſired no cauſe of jar, and that he would give none. I aſſured him of it, that things paſt could not be remedied, but that juſtice ſhould be done, and order given that no ſuch inconveniences hereafter ſhall happen. And withal, took occaſion to tell him mildly, that the French Ambaſſador made things worſe than they were, which ſhowed no good-will to maintain amity. He told me in that, he did that, in that point, he had cauſe given him; but in other things he told me plainly, *Il n'eſt qu'un ſot*; and that, but for Villeroy's ſake, he would make him known ſo, but that he would not Villeroy; and thereupon told me, that particularly the Ambaſſador ſhould by no means have an inkling of this, no more than any body elſe: I aſſured him of it, for all the world, and deſired him to be out of doubt of it. From that, he talked of the Count Monbeliard's, and Wirtemberg's levying of men, to be revenged of that, the league had ſpoiled in their country; but he is not of opinion they have courage enough, and told me with theſe words, *Ils ne ſont que des cocquins, qu'il ne ni e & qu'ils ne romagent tout, le diable les emporte.* I caſt out ſome words to ſee whether he would be offended if a new army came into their frontiers to ſpoil

 them,

them, if ſo they can no farther. I promiſe you, I cannot aſſure you of it, but I think he would not be diſcontented at it, for theſe were his very words, *Le diable les emporte, qu'ils ny'ont demeuré dernierment, canaille quils ſont, & ne chercher leur malheur, & qui ne les demandoint pas, ſans faire rien de ce qu'ils & pouvoynt aizement faire.* Thus he ended, repeating to me again the aſſurance that I had given him of the ſecrecy of this, the aſſurance of his friendſhip to your Majeſty, in ſpite of any counſel or enticement, if you gave him cauſe of your part, and means to that which were good for both, and that he might ſtop them that meant nothing but deadly harm to them both.

Thus I have been long, but your Majeſty muſt pardon me, for it was my duty to make a plain relation to you, for to nobody elſe I could by promiſe. I did what I could to egg him to ſpeak, and to open himſelf, and I think he hath done more than he hath done to many. I am not wiſe enough to adviſe your Majeſty what to reſolve upon in it, but I think he hath dealt truly in moſt things, and according as he meaneth. I would wiſh your Majeſty to do what you you could well do to content him; for I am of that opinion, that there will hardly be ever in France, a King of a diſpoſition fitter for England; for ſurely he hath a deſire, if he can live in peace, to attempt nothing againſt England, or any elſe. But you had need to take advice of yourſelf, which is indeed the chiefeſt of your Council, and of the wiſeſt elſe you can take advice of; for I am of that opinion, it is a tickliſh point to take counſel of; for if, in doing part of that which he deſireth, your requeſt were made a colour to the King of Navarre, to do more than you would have him do, and to take you at your word, and to make you to be the King of Navarre's excuſe to the world; I am not wiſe enough to judge what good or harm it might bring your Majeſty.

The King's words make me ſuſpect ſomewhat, and other circumſtances make me ſuſpect more; and particularly ſeeking of the

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the King of Navarre's own folks, what they judge of his diſpoſition, maketh me doubt moſt of all; and advertiſements that I have from divers places confirm me more, whereof ſome be certain, ſome I cannot certainly aſſure you of, of both which ſorts I write plainly Mr. Secretary in a particular letter of that, becauſe I have kept your Majeſty ſo long, as I am aſhamed to keep you longer, for troubling you, and therefore moſt humbly taking my leave, I commit your Majeſty to him that hath, and ever, I aſſure myſelf, will guard you in all your actions, and protect you from all your enemies. This 25th of February 1587.

Sir Edward Stafford to the Lord Treaſurer.

1587. Feb. 26th.

MY very good Lord, I have ſent your Lordſhip a book here that was brought me even now, which I have not yet read, and therefore cannot tell whether it be worth the ſending to your Lordſhip or no, only to ſerve for a colour that the copy of her Majeſty's letter may not be thought upon; which, if my packet of letters were greater than of one letter, might breed a ſuſpicion to have them opened, as I know others have been. I ſpake with the King, and that at large, as by the copy of my letter to her Majeſty you may ſee. We had diſcourſed of many things, and did what I could to make him ſpeak, which in truth I think he hath done, more than he hath done to many. And of many things, I avow truly, he was very loath, at firſt, her Majeſty ſhould communicate it to any. We had at length very familiar diſcourſe of many things, and particularly of the Lord Treaſurer, and them in his place: he knoweth every body's humour as well as I, and I think better. I found him have a ſound opinion of nobody's paſſions there; but Lord Treaſurer

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ſurer. I did not gainſay it. He was particularly contented that I ſhould make Lord Treaſurer acquainted with all, if I would; for he told me plainly, that though he took him to be more affected to Spain than to France, he knew him to be faithful to her Majeſty, and affected to no paſſion but her good only, and with theſe words, *fort homme de bien.* I anſwered him to his ſatisfaction. For all other of his fellows I took oath, and faithful promiſe, to communicate nothing but only to her Majeſty, that ſhe might do after, as you may ſee by the contents of the letter. I pray God ſend her Majeſty to take counſel of that which is beſt for herſelf; for ſurely I cannot tell what to think of this world, nor well judge of the King of Navarre, and that ſide, as you may ſee by a particular letter I have written of theſe things to Mr. Secretary; and alſo another of the news of the defeat, and taking of Maximilian by the Chancellor of Poland. And ſo I commit you to the keeping of God. Paris, this 26th day of February, 1587.

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No. XVII.

A brief Diſcourſe, containing the true and certain manner how the late Duke of Guiſe, and the Cardinal of Lorraine his brother, were put to death at Blois, the 14th of December 1588, for ſundry conſpiracies and treaſons practiſed by them againſt their Sovereign the French King; wherein is farther declared the impriſonment of ſome other of the conſpirators and leaguers, with divers other circumſtances and matters happening thereupon. Written unto our late Queen Elizabeth, by Sir Edward Stafford, at that time, her Ambaſſador in the Court of France.

[This Narrative not being an original, nor the copy authenticated, may not be thought to have thoſe marks of genuineneſs, which the other papers of Sir E. Stafford, inſerted in this volume, have; and it muſt be owned, that ſome of the circumſtances differ from the relations of De Thou and Davila.

It may not be improper to mention, that Stafford, when he came home, was made Vice-Chamberlain of the Houſehold, and a Privy Counſellor. He died in the beginning of King James's reign.]

From the Harleian Collection.

IN the time of Lewis XII. King of France, not above eighty years ago, one Claude of Lorrain, or rather Vaudemout, a meer ſtranger, puffed up with riches and pride, began to ſet foot, and ſeat himſelf in France: who having a very ſubtle and reaching head, endeavoured to make his benefit of time, by warily and ſpeedily laying

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ing hold upon any occaſion whatſoever, whereby to advance his mean eſtate to ſome place of honour and dignity. And, becauſe at firſt he knew not how to ſpeed himſelf better, he thought himſelf fairly promoted, when, with much ado, he was taken into the King's houſehold, and made Great Hunter; an office of but ſmall and baſe account, in reſpect of the honour which this ſtranger gaped after. In proceſs of time, after many revolutions and toſſings, this ambition was ſerved ſo far, that he was created Duke of Guiſe and Aumale, Peer of France, and Governor of Burgundy; and ſo deceaſed. But the ſucceeding offspring of this ſtranger, not contented nor ſatiated with the continual great and undeſerved favours and honours, which they from time to time enjoyed, by the exceeding bounty and liberality of the King of France, although they were ſo great, and ſo many, as might have ſatisfied to glut a moſt ambitious and unſatiable gorge, bended and levelled their reſtleſs deſires to a more high and ſtately ſcope, than ever Claude of Lorrain durſt preſume to think of, deviſing and practiſing how they might compaſs the Crown of France: wherein, by their ſiniſter and indirect practices, they have prevailed ſo mightily, that they crept daily in credit more and more, and poſſeſſed the hearts of the Kings of France in ſuch ſort, that abuſing their favours heaped moſt plentifully upon them, and their houſe, they only, diſpoſed the chief offices both in Court and country, diſplaced the Princes of the blood from the moſt honourable offices, and governments of greateſt truſt, and in their rooms placed men of their own humour and faction, ruling and over-ruling all things in France at their own pleaſure; inſomuch that the gate of honour and promotion ſtood open, in a manner, to none but ſuch as depended wholly upon their devotion. Yet perceiving that all this was not enough to help them to the ſupreme authority, without good right to it, or at leaſtwiſe ſome probable ſhow and colour of right; and knowing that falſehood and lies can hardly have a plauſible paſſage amongſt

* Grand Veneur.

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men, except they maſk diſguiſed with a viſage of truth (for all men naturally do embrace that which they know, or think to be true), they feigned to themſelves a certain odd title to the crown; deriving their pedigree from Charlemaine, but by ſuch uncertain, falſe, and counterfeit deſcents, yea, and ſuch as, through extreme age, were long ago worne out of date, that they may as well (and better) claim to be monarchs of the whole world by lineal deſcent from Adam, as to aſcend to the crown of France by ſuch worm-eaten, rotten, and broken degrees. And to make this their title more plauſible in the ears of the ſimple, they ſuborned men of no ſmall learning to print and publiſh books in defence thereof. In which books this their miſhapen title, painted and ſhadowed with colours of rhetoric, was ſlubbered over with ſome ſorry arguments, and ſlender proofs, to induce and ſettle in men's hearts a liking or good opinion of their pretended right. But their proofs fell out to be ſo weak, and their reaſons ſo forceleſs, that no man in his right wits, except he were their creature or beadſman, and ſo devoted to them that he would believe any thing, though never ſo untrue, which made for the Guiſian greatneſs, could thereby be perſuaded to like the better either of them, or their forged title.

Theſe things brought to this unlucky paſs, the late Duke of Guiſe, following the footſteps of his predeceſſors, by whom he had received an ambitious deſire, and aſpiring mind to the crown, ingrafted in himſelf as hereditary in his own conceit; and being, from his infancy, inſtructed by the late Cardinal of Lorraine, his uncle, and armed with divers politic inſtructions, and ſubtle plots how to carry himſelf in ſo dangerous an enterpriſe; amongſt all the reſt of thoſe cunning and deep devices, thought it fitteſt for his purpoſe, to direct his chiefeſt endeavours to nouriſh and maintain, by all poſſible means, the civil diſcord and long continued quarrel between the Proteſtants and Papiſts; that, in the midſt of theſe domeſtical uproars, he (by ſhewing himſelf very hot and forward, and ſomewhat extraordinarily zealous in defence of the Romiſh Church, and in the ſuppreſſing

preſſing of the King of Navarre, and the Princes of the Blood, profeſſors of the reformed religion,) might eaſily procure himſelf to be the head of that faction, of which his predeceſſors and he had been ſuch notable furtherers. And perſuaded himſelf, not without probable likelihood, that, by that means, he might gain, and firmly unite unto himſelf, the hearts of the Catholics, and make himſelf great with the forces of that faction, and with the King's powers purchaſe authority, whom (though half unwilling, and yet not daring to do otherwiſe at that time,) he had drawn to call in his edicts of pacification, and to denounce open war againſt the King of Navarre and thoſe of the religion. Nevertheleſs, perceiving that the King proſecuted the matter but faintly (in truth becauſe he durſt not truſt the Guiſe, or any of his favourers with too great a power, for fear leſt they ſhould convert his own forces to his own overthrow and deſtruction, as divers preſumptuous, and ſome very apparent practices of the Duke, did give him juſt occaſion to ſuſpect), he determined to take another courſe, though ſomewhat more dangerous than the former, yet of more moment and aſſurance, for the effecting of his conceived purpoſe. Whereupon, the Duke dealing with divers great Peers and States of France, eſpecially ſuch as either kindred to himſelf, hatred to the King of Navarre, deſire of innovations, becauſe the preſent Government did not ſatisfy their ambitious appetites, or ſuperſtitious zeal without knowledge, had made partakers of his quarrel, told them openly that the King's careleſſneſs, and cowardice in this religious and holy enterprize, was the only cauſe of the proſperous ſucceſs of the Proteſtants, who began in divers parts of France to grow very ſtrong, and greatly to prevail, becauſe the King either would not, or durſt not maintain a ſufficient army in the field to impeach their proceedings; which miſchief (as he ſaid) was grown to that greatneſs, that it could not, by any means, be redreſſed, except thoſe peers and ſtates (to whom the reformation of the commonwealth in ſuch deſperate caſes doth appertain,) did join together in an holy league (ſo called, becauſe religion

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ligion was the chiefeſt cauſe they did pretend in that action), where each ſhould be bound to other by ſolemn and mutual oath, to ſet to his helping hand, to the uttermoſt of his power, for the removing of ſuch corrupt minions (as he termed them) from the King, as favoured the King of Navarre, and laboured underhand to hinder the wholeſome counſels, and politic platforms, agreed upon in Common Council by the Peers and States, for the benefit and honour of the King and Commonwealth, and the enlarging of the Catholic religion: and that they ſhould ſwear never to make any peace with the King of Navarre, or give over the war againſt him, and his adherents, until they had utterly ſubverted and overthrown them all. To which unholy league divers of the Peers, and other great men, were ſworn, being ſeduced by theſe, and ſuch like perſuaſions.

The league being thus on foot, hath hatched, and brought forth a million of miſchiefs; and it cannot be denied but that all the chief doers therein, with their complices, favourers, and abettors, were to be judged and deemed no better than arrant traitors to the King, and enemies to the Commonwealth: for leagues are to be made only between abſolute Kings and Princes of Free States and Cities, for the maintenance of amity, and intercourſe of traffic to be had between either countries, and for the mutual help and ſuccour the one is to afford the other againſt dangerous enemies, or for ſome ſuch other public or private reſpect, as may greatly concern the commodity and welfare of thoſe countries, between whom the league is to be concluded. But, that ſubjects ſhould bandy themſelves againſt their ſovereign, or join in league without his conſent, to reform and redreſs ſuch things, as in the government of the ſtate they ſuppoſe to be amiſs, hath ever (and that deſervedly) been counted a conſpiracy or rebellion, and a point of moſt dangerous and deteſtable treaſon. It hath always been an uſual practice for traitors to pretend reformation of the State, and of the King's court, from corrupt and bad humours, making this falſe ſhow of zeal for their country's good, a ſnare to blind and entrap the ignorant, and unlearned multitude

tude withal, and a cloak under which they ſhroud their ambitious intents and treacherous drifts. No nation, almoſt in any age, but can produce plentiful ſtore of examples herein: but, inſtead of all other, I will only deal with the Duke of Guiſe, the ſequel of whoſe cunning practices doth plainly prove, that he meant only, under colour of bettering, to diſturb all things, that in the midſt of theſe broils he might lay hold both of the King's life and crown, if opportunity and his ability would ſerve him thereto. In proſecuting which his purpoſe, he practiſed underhand with the King of Spain, and procured from him ſecretly 300,000 piſtolets of gold yearly, to be diſtributed to the chiefeſt of the league, of which ſum himſelf had each year 150,000 piſtolets. But, no doubt, herein the King of Spain and the Duke had their ſeveral ambitious ends. The Duke made reckoning, that by this money, and by the French King's authority, he ſhould be able to overmatch the King of Navarre, and in the end to ſet himſelf above all others in the management of matters of eſtate; and to ſeize upon ſo many of the greateſt, ſtrongeſt, and richeſt towns and fortreſſes of the realm into his hands, that he might be able at his pleaſure either to make away the King, or elſe to thruſt him into ſome abbey, there to live upon ſome ſorry penſion, and ſo to inveſt himſelf with the long deſired name of King, being then, and long before, *Dominus fac totum*, the chief commander both of the King and country. On the other ſide, the King of Spain hoped, that, by this money, he ſhould keep the Frenchmen ſo buſied and troubled at home, that they ſhould not have leiſure to think upon the attempt of any thing in the Low Countries; the government and protection of which provinces, about that time, was offered unto the French King, by ſome of the States of thoſe Provinces. And alſo, that miniſtring matter wherewith to continue the fire of this inteſtine diſſention, and unnatural diſcord amongſt them, he ſhould ſhake and weaken the eſtate of France, whoſe greatneſs and proſperity was always an eye-ſore to him, and his predeceſſors.

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And laſtly, that by his bountiful liberality, he ſhould bind many of the nobles unto him in ſuch ſort, that he might, one day, by their aſſiſtance, make a prey of France, as he had done heretofore of Portugal, by the like corrupt and unking-like practice. And although the French King began to ſuſpect the unfortunate event of theſe traiterous and damnable drifts, and greatly to lament the miſery, wherein both himſelf and his whole country were like to be plunged, yet becauſe the Duke of Guiſe bore ſo great ſway over all France, and had the greateſt part of moſt vigilant and deſperate noblemen at his devotion, he was enforced to ſet a fair face on the matter, and wiſely to diſſemble, as if he had ſuſpected nothing, until time ſhould afford him fit occaſion to be revenged at the full. And, in the mean ſeaſon, he determined to deny nothing abſolutely that the Duke of Guiſe ſhould requeſt, but withal to endeavour, as much as he could, ſecretly to thwart and croſs his purpoſes, and to draw ſome of his enterprizes to ſort to a more contrary event, than the Guiſe ſhould either ſuſpect or imagine; wherein the Guiſe, or any man elſe was the eaſier to be deceived, becauſe the world never thought the King to have half that politic wit, deep judgment, and undaunted courage, and admirable conſtancy, which, by his reſolute and rare attempts, luckily ſince that time atchieved, he hath ſhowed himſelf to have. Inſomuch, that when the Duke of Guiſe and thoſe of the league had 30,000 men in the field againſt the King of Navarre, and very importunately ſolicited the French King to levy another army to the ſame purpoſe, the King yielded very willingly to furniſh, and ſet forth 20,000 men; but yet, therewithal, he perſuaded the Duke of Guiſe, that it would be moſt convenient for thoſe preſent wars, to divide the whole army into three equal parts, that they might all, at once, invade the King of Navarre with ſuch fury, and ſo moleſt him on all ſides, that he ſhould never be able to make head any one way, without imminent danger to loſe all another way. This carried a very fair colour of reaſon. But the King did it eſpecially to this end, that he might procure two parts of three to be guided by his own

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eſpecial friends, whereas otherwiſe, ſome one of the Duke of Guiſe's houſe, ſhould have been General of the whole 50,000, a thing too dangerous for the King to endure. Wherefore he wiſely, without any ſuſpicion, brought to paſs, that the Duke Joyeuſe, and the Duke of Eſpernon, both perſons to the King's eſpecial favour and liking, preferred to honour, had the leading of the two armies; and the Duke of Mayne, the Guiſe's brother, commanded only the third part. So that the King ſending at firſt but 20,000 to the field, had about 33,000 at his devotion; and the Duke, with thoſe of the league, who ſent 30,000, had at their commandment not 17,000. And after that the Duke Joyeuſe was ſlain, and his whole army defeated, the King (who by agreement ſhould have paid all the three armies) fed the Duke of Mayne with delays in ſuch ſort, that for want of victuals and pay, he was conſtrained to diſſolve and break up his camp, and get him home. It cannot be denied, but that the King wrought herein wonderfully politickly, the which notwithſtanding was not conveyed ſo cloſely, but that the Duke of Guiſe ſoon perceived the drift thereof; for it is hard to halt before a cripple. The Duke therefore, half deſpairing to atchieve the end of his unſatiable deſires by theſe means, and relying much upon the favour of the Pariſians, accompanied only with eight gentlemen, that he might be the leſs ſuſpected, entered into Paris, contrary to the King's expreſs pleaſure and commandment, who diſtruſting and ſuſpecting the cauſe of his coming, had given him to underſtand that he was altogether unwilling to have him come thither, before he had appeaſed the troubles of Picardy, and quite taken away the cauſes thereof. But the Duke, notwithſtanding the King had forbidden his coming thither, having laid ſundry traiterous platforms for the ſeizing of the King's perſon, and diſpatching of him, being the only man that ſtood in his way; and purpoſing withal to pick quarrels with ſome of the wealthieſt citizens in Paris, thereby to enrich himſelf with their goods, and poſſeſs himſelf of the King's treaſure, being at that time kept in the Exchequer in Paris (for money was the ſinews and

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ſtrength whereby he hoped to uphold this miſerable war), thought he could not find out a fitter and more aſſured place, wherein to execute his intended miſchiefs, than Paris, being a town always affectioned to him, and ſwarming with multitudes of poor artificers, porters, and peaſants, who, in hope of impunity and reward, are ready at all times to attempt mutinies, murders, or any kind of villanies whatſoever, if they may but be egged on, encouraged, or countenanced by any man of authority or honour, that in ſuch actions will undertake to be their head and ringleader; as the miſerable and more than barbarous maſſacre, moſt cruelly executed in that accurſed town, upon the moſt renowned and worthy Admiral Chatillon, and ſundry nobles, gentlemen, ſtudents, and other men and women of all ſorts, ſo that they were ſuſpected to be of the religion, may give ſufficient teſtimony. And although the Duke, by reaſon of their bad diſpoſition and deadly hatred that they always bore to thoſe of the religion, did aſſuredly know that they would be ready at all times to put in practice his cruel and bloody deſignments whatſoever; yet, that he might make himſelf ſtronger in Paris, and provide ſufficient ſtore of bloody and deſperate captains to govern and lead the unſkilful multitude in thoſe troubleſome tumults, he cauſed ſundry gentlemen and ſtrangers, that were his friends and retainers, ſecretly to repair into the town, inſomuch as the city began to be repleniſhed in divers places, and almoſt in all quarters, with Guizards and leaguers. But the King having ſecret advertiſements before-hand, both of his coming and of his deviliſh intents, and tendring greatly the quietneſs and welfare of the town, laboured what he could to prevent all inconveniences that might ariſe. And therefore cauſed twelve enſigns of Switzers, and eight enſigns of French footmen, to be brought thither, having four enſigns of his guard already there; and cauſed his colonels and captains to ſeize upon certain ſtrong and fencible places of Paris, that by that means they might be the better able to ſuppreſs any ſudden ſtirs and uproars, and retain the town in obedience and peace. And to that end, he

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cauſed ſome of the Lords of the Council, and Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghoſt, accompanied with divers officers of the crown and town, to make an exact ſearch throughout all the quarters of Paris, to the end thereby to diſcover and find out the ſtate of the town, and alſo to avoid ſuch ſtrangers as ſhould be found there, not to be avowed as they ought. But the Duke of Guiſe, like to the ſpider, that ſucketh poiſon out of ſweet flowers, took occaſion hereof by divers of his eſpials, that wandered up and down in every corner, to make the people (notwithſtanding the King's great care to keep the town in perfect quietneſs, ſufficiently appeared to all wiſe men, and dutiful ſubjects) to betake themſelves to arms, and rebel, affirming that theſe forces, which the King had brought into the town, were purpoſely provided for the ſacking of Paris, and putting divers of the chief and beſt citizens to death. The giddy-headed multitude enraged with theſe falſe ſurmiſes, animated by the preſence of the Duke, and ordered (or rather diſordered) by the Duke's followers, made an alarum to arms, fortified themſelves in places of ſtrength, aſſailed the King's forces with deſperate fury, ſlew fifteen of the Switzers, wounded as many more, and unarmed the reſt, ſet upon certain companies of the King's guards unarmed, and caſt them into priſon, and began to fortify and make trenches againſt the Louvre, as if they would have beſieged the King. But becauſe the Duke perceived that the King kept himſelf cloſe in the Louvre, whither divers good ſubjects reſorted, to adventure their lives in defence of his Majeſty, and alſo that this broil was haſtened too ſoon, for he would have had the poſſeſſion of the King before theſe matters ſhould have been broached, he durſt not attempt any thing againſt his Majeſty's perſon. The King then ſeeing that there was no good to be done, and that he laboured in vain to appeaſe this tumult, abandoned and forſook the town, rather than he would hazard the ſtate of it by employing his forces againſt the inhabitants thereof, and ſo flying from thence, eſcaped the fury of that brunt. When the King

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was gone, the Duke laboured to make men believe that theſe broils happened againſt his will; and to cauſe himſelf to be the leſs ſuſpected, he releaſed the Switzers and ſoldiers that were taken priſoners, reſtored them their arms, quieted the citizens, took all the ſtrong places of the city into his own hand, and ſealed up the King's coffers of his Exchequer (but took out the money firſt), proteſting that he did it not but to conſign the whole into the King's hands, when he ſhould be at peace, or if need were, to employ it for the preſervation of the Romiſh religion and the Catholics, and to ſet them at liberty from the perſecutions which the hereticks, confederates (as he termed them) that were about the King, did prepare for them. And although theſe inſolent attempts, diſgraces, and indignities, preferred by the Duke againſt the King his Sovereign, did manifeſt to all the world his treacherous and undutiful meaning, yet he took upon him, by a letter ſent unto the King, to excuſe thematter (God knows very barely), but with brave and high ſpeeches, and afterward proffered unto the King certain articles of accord, much derogatory to the King's Majeſty, his honour, quietneſs, and ſafety, and tending wholly to the honour and advancement of the Duke and his complices: which articles I have here inſerted, that the Duke's diſloyalty may thereby the better appear, in that he, being a ſubject and vaſſal, dare preſume to preſcribe laws and conditions of peace unto his ſovereign liege Lord, which (no doubt) is to be reckoned a bold, preſumptuous, and treaſonable action. Some of the articles are theſe enſuing.

1. That whereas the Duke had ſpent the greateſt part of his wealth and treaſure in maintaining the wars againſt the King of Navarre, and the heretics, and was by that means grown very far in debt, that the King, without any delay, ſhould preſently pay all his debts out of the treaſure of the crown.

2. Next, that the King ſhould appoint and conſtitute the Duke of Guiſe Lieutenant-general of all his forces, and refer all his wars, both

both againſt the heretics and others, to be ordered by his diſcretion. ELIZABETH. 1588.

3. Thirdly, That the King ſhould cauſe an aſſembly of the States to be forthwith ſummoned, to which aſſembly none ſhould be admitted, but ſuch peers, nobles, and burgeſſes of towns, as the Guiſe ſhould make ſpecial choice of, for fear (as he pretended) leſt ſome heretic might ſlip in amongſt the reſt, which, by his provident care, he meant warily to look unto.

4. Laſtly, That the King ſhould renounce all leagues and amity with all proteſtant Princes and States whatſoever, but ſpecially with the Queen of England and the town of Geneva; and ſhould ſwear to maintain the Holy League, with other ſuch like preſumptuous, dangerous, and traiterous articles, unworthy and unbefitting a ſubject to offer to his King, which afterward you ſhall hear more largely, as they were propounded at the aſſembly of Blois. Theſe articles the King could by no means brook, but becauſe the time ſerved him not to find fault withal, he condeſcended and promiſed, that he would ſubmit himſelf to the counſel and advice of the Peers and States of France, and if by them theſe articles were thought convenient and neceſſary for the commonwealth, he would willingly bind himſelf to the obſerving them. In the mean ſeaſon, the Queen Mother and others laboured ſo effectually between them, that the King and the Duke, in outward appearance, were reconciled again. The Duke being crept again into the King's favour (as he thought) began, after his accuſtomed manner, to urge the King very inſtantly, to ſend another army againſt the King of Navarre, whereunto he readily condeſcended, and ſent an army of 20,000, of which he made the Duke of Nevers General, who ſometime had been a Guiſard, but was now become firm on the King's ſide, by reaſon of a marriage which the King had made between him and the Duke of Longueville's daughter. The Duke of Guiſe did much miſlike that the army was not committed to the charge of ſome of his affinity or faction.

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faction. Nevertheleſs, becauſe the Duke of Nevers was a Catholic and no friend to the King of Navarre, he durſt not find fault with him, leſt, in ſo doing, he ſhould diſcloſe his ambitious humour too apparently. And therefore, ſeeming not to miſlike the choice of ſuch a General, he procured from the King, that a gentleman called La Chaſtre, Governor of Bourges, a man wholly devoted to the Duke of Guiſe, might be appointed Marſhal of the Field; that, ſeeing he could not have the chief command of the whole army, yet, at the leaſt, he might be privy to all the intendments of the General, and ſtrike a great ſtroke in diſpoſing the affairs of the camp, by reaſon of this Marſhal.

This army, as ſhall afterwards be declared, ſtood the King in ſuch and ſo great ſtead, as if it had been purpoſely provided againſt the Guiſards. But the Duke having his eyes dazzled with gazing and gaping greedily over ſovereignty, and his ſenſes in a manner ſo dulled with continual meditating thereon, and greedily thirſting to quench his unſatiable ambition, with no leſs than a whole kingdom, was ſo carried away with vain conceits and imaginations of ruling and conquering, that he never thought upon the hidden hatred worthily conceived by the King againſt him; but thinking the King to be void of all courage and care of his eſtate, never offered to ſound the depth of his intents; whereas the King, on the other ſide (wiſely diſſembling the matter, and ſeeming not to take notice of the Duke's diſloyal meaning, becauſe at that time he knew not how to remedy it) lay hovering to take the Duke and his fellow conſpirators at an advantage, when he might ſafely, without any danger to himſelf, be revenged on their curſed bodies, which at length he moſt happily performed, almoſt beyond all men's expectation, to the great wonder and aſtoniſhment of the world. But all this notwithſtanding, the Duke, proſecuting ſtill his intended miſchiefs, hammered daily new devices in his head, and at length ſo far pre-

vailed with the King, that he got him to ſummon an aſſembly of the three eſtates, to be forthwith holden at Blois, where, by him and his faction, were propounded certain fundamental and irrevocable laws, wholly tending againſt the Majeſty and ſafety of the King, and the lawful title of the King of Navarre to the Crown. The effect of five of which laws were as followeth: ELIZABETH. 1588.

1. Firſt, Becauſe the King was too backward and negligent, as he pretended, in proſecuting the war againſt the King of Navarre, the Duke of Guiſe, by common conſent, ſhould be made High Conſtable of France, an office that by birth appertained to the Duke of Montmorency, and the managing of all the wars ſhould be committed only and wholly to him.

2. Secondly, Becauſe the King was ever careleſs in ſpending the treaſures of the Crown, beſtowing largely upon his favourites and minions, that he ſhould be put to a penſion of 300,000 crowns by the year, to maintain his eſtate withal; and two ſuch treaſurers ſhould be named, and appointed to have the receiving, ordering, and diſpoſing of all the revenues and profits of the Crown, as the whole body of the aſſembly of the eſtates ſhould pleaſe to nominate, which were in effect two ſuch as the Duke himſelf ſhould chuſe.

3. Thirdly, whereas the King was greatly charged with a guard of forty-five penſioners, to whom, beſides their daily diet in the Court, he allowed yearly 1200 crowns to each man; that thoſe, and other ſuperfluous officers, as he termed them, ſhould be diſmiſſed, and the exceſſive charge thereof ſaved. Here, by the way, it is to be underſtood, that theſe penſioners are commonly called in France by the name of *Les quarant cinque*, and are, for the moſt part, younger brothers of great houſe, or ſuch gentlemen in whom the King repoſeth ſpecial confidence. Their order is, to go and ride always armed, either with cuiraſſes of proof, partizans, ſword and target, calivers, piſtolets, or any other kind of weapon that they beſt fancy. They always lodge in the next chamber to the King's bed-chamber, and

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and, whereſoever he goes or rides, are next attendants unto his perſon. The Duke did labour to have theſe men removed from the King, not for their great charge, but that the king being bereft of all ſuccour, and left in a manner naked, might the eaſier be ſurprized, and made a prey unto his miſchievous and deviliſh treaſons. But the Quarant Cinque (who, if this had gone forward, were like to loſe ſo notable a penſion) did generally bear a deadly and unappeachable hatred againſt the Duke, which afterward ſerved the King to very good purpoſe.

4. Fourthly, that no peace nor pacification ſhould be made with the Proteſtants, but that they ſhould be aſſailed on all ſides, with fire and ſword, until they were utterly extirpated and rooted out of France.

5. Laſtly, that no heretic, nor any claiming from and by a heretic, ſhould be reputed capable of the Crown of France.

The ſcope of theſe laws levelling directly to the advancing of the Duke to the Crown, and, by conſequence, threatning to the King a headlong downfal from his high throne of Majeſty, or elſe a ſudden and unavoidable death ſhortly to betide him, amazed the unfortunate King very much, and made him call all his wits about him, to deviſe ſome one means or other to provide for his own ſafety with all ſpeed. And, to increaſe his fear and vigilant care the more, he was, by ſecret advertiſements, given to underſtand, that the Duke of Guiſe impatient of longer delay and ſtrait, and full of damnable treaſons and conſpiracies, would attempt, as upon Chriſtmas day laſt, to murder him, as he ſhould go to maſs in the night. For on that day the King goeth uſually to three maſſes, one in the morning, another in the afternoon, and the third at midnight.

Though the ſetreacherous calamities, huddling one upon another's neck, had been enough to ſet ſome men quite beſide their wits, yet did the King, whatſoever he thought inwardly, make outward ſemblance as if he had ſuſpected nothing. And although his inward thoughts

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thoughts were undoubtedly cumbered with clouds of care, yet outwardly he made fair weather of all, and bore himſelf ſo wiſely, ſo conſtantly, and ſo quietly, that he ſhowed not any more ſign of diſcontentment by his countenance, behaviour, or otherwiſe, than in the quieteſt and moſt peaceable times of all his life before. And which is moſt ſtrange, he neither took advice, nor did communicate the matter with any creature in the world (though ſome think he uſed the advice of his Secretary de Revol), but took counſel only of his pillow, and with mature deliberation contrived a plot in his brain, for the releaſing of himſelf upon theſe dangerous calamities, and for the revenging of himſelf upon his hateful and accurſed enemies, which he put in practice, and did moſt fortunately effect, according to his wiſhed deſire, after this ſort, as followeth:

On Chriſtmas Even's Even, with us the 13th of December laſt, all the States being aſſembled at Blois for the cauſes above ſpecified, the King gave out that, the next morning betimes, he meant to go on Pilgrimage to Noſtre Dame of Clere, a place eighteen miles diſtant from Blois, and to that end he gave commandment, that the Quarant Cinque ſhould make themſelves ready very early to attend upon him; and at night when he ſhould go to bed, he willed one of the gentlemen of his chamber to bring him in pen, ink and paper, and then to ſhut the door to him, ſaying, that he had ſome affairs to write of, which when he had diſpatched, he would go to bed of himſelf, without any help. But having his brains buſied with a thouſand cogitations, amongſt ſundry devices that came into his head, he thought no way ſo good, as by making away with the Duke, and others of the conſpiracy, to aſſure his own eſtate and life. For he certainly perceived, that as long as the Duke did live, neither ſhould himſelf live in quietneſs and ſafety, nor France enjoy any reſpite from troubles and calamities; whereas, by the Duke's death, himſelf ſhould be delivered of a dangerous and deadly enemy, and his country of France of a pernicious plague. But ſometimes fearing to

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attempt the Duke's death, becauſe he had ſuch a multitude of friends in town, ſometimes determining to do it one way, ſometimes another way, ſometimes to defer it till another time. In the midſt of theſe and other ambiguous doubts, he could afford his wakeful eyes no leiſure to take their natural reſt. But at length conſidering his own death to be intended within two days, he thought it a point of extreme folly to ſpend too long time in deliberating, but reſolved preſently to prevent it if he could, by hazarding to kill the Duke the next day, leſt the day after himſelf ſhould go to the pot; and if he failed to bring his purpoſe to paſs, then to go on pilgrimage, and by flight to ſeek ſomewhere to ſave his life. And therewithal he thought it very requiſite to appoint the means how ſundry of the conſpirators, being far diſtant in ſeveral places, might all at one inſtant drink of the ſame cup, that there might none be left alive in his kingdom that ſhould dare to ſeek revenge of the Duke's death. Whereupon, he ſet himſelf to writing letters, warrants, commiſſions and inſtructions, and appointed divers of his friends what parts they ſhould play in this tragedy; but in ſuch ſort, that none of them ſhould know to what end, or wherein they were to be employed, until the very time they were to put in practice the thing that they had in charge. In this wiſe he ſpent the night, until it was four of the clock in the morning, and then thinking it time to ſet his practice abroach, he called for one of his gentlemen, who coming in, and perceiving the bed made, and many letters lying before the King, imagined that there was ſome great matters in the wind, but of all other things he leaſt ſuſpected that, which afterwards happened. The King willed the gentleman to go to the lodging of one Laverdin and to command him to come preſently unto him. This Laverdin was nephew to the Duke of Nevers, and had a great charge of horſemen under his uncle, who ſent him lately from the camp about ſpecial affairs unto the Court. When Laverdin was come into the King's bed-chamber, the King told him, that he had certain intelligence,

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ligence, how the King of Navarre was determined to aſſail the Duke of Nevers in his camp, and had deviſed ſo exquiſite a ſtratagem to entrap the Duke withal, that unleſs he was preſently advertiſed of it, it would be very hard for him, or any of his whole army to eſcape. And therefore he willed Laverdin upon his allegiance, and as he tendered the honour and welfare of his uncle, and the whole camp, to ride poſt to his uncle with all poſſible ſpeed, and to deliver him a letter, which the King gave him, wherein the Navarre's policy and intent was fully diſcloſed, as he ſaid, and the means how to prevent it; charging him further, not to diſcloſe this matter to any alive but to his uncle. The young gentleman humbly taking his leave of the King, promiſed to foreflow no time in theſe affairs; for, taking it for a great favour to have a matter of ſuch importance committed to his truſt and diligence, he made all haſte he could on his way, and ſo much the rather becauſe his uncle's honour and ſafety depended thereupon. But the King fearing leſt ſome extraordinary cauſe might ſtay him too long in town, ſent a gentleman after him to haſten away, and to ſee him on horſeback, and to ſuffer him to have conference with nobody before his departure. This talk thus cunningly told by the King to Laverdin, made the gentlemen of this chamber aſſuredly to think that this was the only cauſe of the King's writing all night. And thereupon every man held himſelf ſatisfied, not ſeeking to diſcourſe of any further cauſes. But the King had written no ſuch matter as he pretended; for the true and certain effect of the letter was this, That the Duke of Nevers ſhould preſently, upon the receit thereof, apprehend La Chaſtre, Maſter of the camp, upon high treaſon, and make him away by one means or other, without producing of him into public judgment, alleging, that he was of conſpiracy with the Duke of Guiſe for murdering of the King. And further he certified him, that he meant that morning to diſpatch the Duke, and therefore commanded him to retire with his army towards Blois, that he might have a power

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about him in a readineſs to withſtand any ſudden attempt of thoſe of the league, who, as it was doubted, would preſently, after the Duke of Guiſe's death ſhould be once noiſed abroad, betake themſelves to arms. Laverdin made not ſo great haſte, but that La Chaſtre was advertiſed of the Duke of Guiſe's death, half a day at leaſt before Laverdin came to the camp, and adviſed to ſhift for himſelf, by a meſſenger ſent expreſsly unto him for that only purpoſe. Whereupon, perceiving it impoſſible for him to eſcape, ſo many horſemen being in the camp ready to purſue him upon the Duke's command, if once he ſhould attempt to fly, went preſently and ſubmitted himſelf unto the Duke of Nevers, and ſent his ſon and heir unto the King as hoſtage and pledge of his good and dutiful behaviour. By which means, and at the earneſt ſuit and intreaty of the Duke of Nevers and others of La Chaſtre's friends, the King gave him his pardon. And becauſe the Duke de Mayne was a principal actor in all theſe conſpiracies, and was well known to be hot-headed and raſh, and ready for any violent and deſperate attempt, the King thought it good, above all the reſt of the leaguers, to make ſure play with him, and therefore ſent an Italian gentleman in Poſt to Guadagne, Governor of Lyons, to carry him a letter, in which letter the treaſons of the houſe of Guiſe were declared, but eſpecially the intended murder of the King, and Guadagne commanded to apprehend the Duke de Mayne, then being in Lyons, and ſecretly to cauſe him to be done to death. But the Duke de Mayne having intelligence of his brother's death by a courier that came two hours before Guadagne received the King's letters, cauſed his horſes to be bridled and ſaddled, and his gentlemen to make themſelves ready to ride, and ſent for Guadagne and others of the chief of the city to come and ſpeak with him. When they were come, the Duke de Mayne in few words declared unto them, that the King had murdered his brother the Duke of Guiſe, and that he ſought the alteration of religion, and ſubverſion of the commonwealth, by murdering the chief Peers

and Nobles of France; and that, amongſt the reſt, himſelf was appointed to the ſlaughter. Wherefore, he exhorted them, for the love they bore unto their mother the Holy Church, and to their native country, that they would aſſiſt him to revenge this open tyranny, and fight in defence of the Catholic religion. Behold the perfect pattern of a diſloyal traitor, who ſeeks to arm ſubjects againſt their lawful King, and ſlanderouſly to term that by the odious name of tyranny, which in right cannot otherwiſe be called, than the due execution of juſtice by the King's authority for treaſon. But Guadagne and the reſt would by no means hearken to theſe diſloyal perſuaſions, and yet bearing him in hand, that they would willingly adventure their lives, either in defence of him or any of his. This they perſuaded him, becauſe they knew not how the townſmen would ſtand affected in ſuch a caſe; and that it was not ſafe for him to ſtay there any while, but to get him to ſome place of more aſſurance, before the King ſhould ſend to apprehend him. This they ſpake, to the end they might be rid of his company, miſdoubting leſt his abode in Lyons might draw a number of light-headed and needy companions to take his part, and by that means raiſe a mutiny and rebellion, and perhaps enforce the town to revolt from the King. The Duke was as willing to be gone as they were deſirous to have him gone, becauſe he perceived that it was dangerous for him to ſtay there over long, being pent within the walls of Lyons, like a bird in a cage, and amongſt ſuch friends as he knew not how he might truſt them; wherefore he preſently poſted away, and eſcaped into his government of Burgundy. Glad was Guadagne when he received the King's letter, that the Duke was departed, for he doubted that he ſhould not have been able to have executed the King's commandment, the Duke having intelligence thereof before hand; and beſides, he feared leſt, by his preſence, the quiet ſtate of the town might have been greatly endangered. Yet, ſince that, Lyons is revolted from the King, and joined with the traitors leaguers.

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Theſe two meſſengers being diſpatched, the King ſent for one Entragues, a famous captain, ſome time a follower of the Duke of Guiſe, but now grown into ſpecial favour with the King, and told him, that he would have him ride poſt preſently to Orleans, and, by any means (if he could) make himſelf maſter of the town, or, at the leaſt, of the citadel, and delivered to him a warrant, commiſſion, and inſtructions, what he ſhould do, when he had the abſolute command of the town, written all with his own hand, and ſealed with his own ſignet (as alſo were all the reſt of the letters delivered to others), and ſo enjoining him to be ſecret, ſent him away. But what he had in commiſſion to execute is not known; for he getting poſſeſſion of the citadel only, and not of the town, could not execute the King's commandment. It is very likely, that there were ſome in Orleans that ſhould have aſſociated the Duke of Guiſe in this his laſt journey, but that they kept themſelves out of Entragues's hands.

Chevalier Breton underſtanding that the Duke of Guiſe was ſlain, poſted ſo faſt towards Orleans, and recovered the town in ſo ſhort a ſpace, that together with Chevalier D'Aumale and others of the Guiſe's faction, they prevented Entragues of his purpoſe, and kept the town againſt the King. So that Entragues was conſtrained to betake himſelf into the citadel, and there continued, being kept out of the town perforce. The King thought it not requiſite to write to any other towns for the apprehending of any others of the league, until he had diſpatched the Duke of Guiſe, leſt having too many actors upon the ſtage at once, his intent might be diſcovered before the principal part was played. And to prevent all poſting and carrying of news, he ſent a ſtrait commandment to the poſt-maſter, charging him upon pain of death to ſuffer no man to have poſt-horſes to ride any whither, except he brought the King's own hand and ſeal for a warrant. Theſe things thus ſeverally done, as if all his affairs and buſineſs had been ended, he aſked one of his gentlemen if the Quarante-cinque were ready to attend him in his pilgrimage, who anſwered,

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anſwered, that they were, and waited his Majeſty's coming. Then the King willed him to ſee that all things were in readineſs, becauſe he meant not to ſtay long ere he went. But firſt he commanded him to go to his couſin the Duke of Guiſe, and to will him to come and ſpeak with him before his departure, becauſe he had ſome occurrence of great importance touching the King of Navarre to acquaint him withal. When the gentleman was gone for the Duke, the King called for eight of the Quarante-cinque to come to him into his bedchamber, to whom he declared, that the occaſion why he had ſent for them would admit no long diſcourſe, becauſe the matter required preſent execution. But briefly he opened unto them, what manifeſt and moſt injurious diſgraces and indignities he had ſuffered at the Duke of Guiſe's hands, and how that the Duke was not content to have the government of the whole realm in a manner at his own diſpoſition, but that he alſo ſought to deſpoil him of his life and kingdom, and to hazard the utter ſubverſion of the commonwealth by his moſt traiterous, irreligious, and bloody practices. Then he ſhowed them a letter of the Duke's intended treaſons, adding, with a moſt pitiful countenance, that the only means for him to be relieved in this extremity did reſt upon their dutiful affections and reſolute courage; that as ſoon as ever the Duke ſhould enter into the chamber (for whom he had already ſent, not doubting but that he would come preſently) they ſhould all ſet upon him, and kill him in that place, and he would bear them out, and be their warrant therein, and find a time to requite their faithful ſervice to their ſeveral contents. He exhorted them to ſhew themſelves dutiful and hardy in this caſe, urging them, that they, of all others, ought to be moſt willing and ready to do it, becauſe the Duke was a heavy enemy of theirs, labouring, as much as he could, to have their penſions taken from them (which he himſelf thought it verily to be with the leaſt for their deſerts), and themſelves to be thruſt out of the court and caſhiered. When he had ſaid this, he withdrew himſelf into an inner

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inner cabinet or cloſet, and locked the door to him, having only a gentleman called Logniac in his company, leaving thoſe eight gentlemen in the anti-chamber armed (as their manner was), and every one deſirous to be revenged of the Duke, both in reſpect of the treaſons intended againſt the King, as alſo of the injury proffered to themſelves. Neither had theſe gentlemen any time to deliberate of the fact, not being made acquainted with it before that inſtant: for preſently after the King was gone into the cabinet, the Duke of Guiſe thinking he was ſent for *bona fide* about ſome news, with a cheerful countenance came into the King's bedchamber, for whom the eight gentlemen, without any ſhow of anger or malice, made a ward, four on the one ſide and four on the other, and ſuffered him quietly to paſs into the midſt of the chamber. But when he demanded for the King, they ſhut the door, and preſently ſtept to him with their poinards drawn: whereupon, he laid his hand upon his rapier, and proffered to draw, but one of them, with his left hand, gripped him by the arm ſo ſtrongly, that he could not, and calling him traitor, with his right hand gave him the ſtab: with that, they fell all upon him, and poinarded him on all hands. The Duke ſtruggled, but all in vain, and upon a brave courage proffered what reſiſtance he was able, but being over-preſſed with a multitude of wounds, ſunk down in the midſt of his enemies. And fretting, fuming, chafing, and ſwearing, at laſt uttered theſe words, "My ſins have deſerved "this;" and gave up the ghoſt. Lo here untimely and unnatural death, the juſt reward of monſtrous treaſon! Lo here the man whoſe life had been often glutted with bloody maſſacring of the children of God, doth now lie groveling in his own gore-blood, having felt the like puniſhment (though deſervedly) which cauſeleſs he had often inflicted, and that moſt cruelly, upon others!

The King, who all this while liſtened to what was done, perceiving the Duke to be diſpatched, came forth of his cabinet, and ſtedfaſtly beholding the dead body, uſed theſe words, "I had rather "thou

"thou ſhouldeſt die than I;" and cauſed them to cover the body with a cloth of arras, greatly commending them, and giving them thanks for their good ſervice. ELIZABETH. 1588.

It is credibly avouched, that not many days before the Duke of Guiſe was thus executed, he had warning given him by the Princeſs of Lorraine and Chevalier Breton, that he ſhould take heed to himſelf, becauſe they underſtood by ſome that were near to the King, that his death was intended to be brought to paſs, either by poiſon or by outward violence, whenſoever occaſion would ſerve thereto. But he made ſlender account of their warnings, being ſtedfaſtly perſuaded that the King either ſaw not the cloſe conveyance of his ſecret conſpiracies, or if he did ſee them, that he durſt not offer to ſeek revenge. Yea, that very morning that he was ſent for to the King, as he paſſed through a dark entry in the court, an unknown man delivered a letter to his page, requeſting him to give it preſently to his Lord, becauſe it required great haſte, and concerned him very near. The Duke receiving this letter from the page, found therein written, that the King did intend ſome miſchief towards him, and that he ſhould forbear, at any hand, to come that day in his preſence, being a fatal, ominous, and unfortunate day unto him: affirming, with very confident terms, that the King, without all queſtion, would that day attempt to take him away. When the Duke had read the letter, he called for pen and ink, and wrote underneath, *Il n'oſeroit*, He dares not; and then very ſcornfully threw it over his ſhoulder, that any man might take it up, and ſo proceeded towards the King's chamber, without enquiring after the party that wrote it, or ſhowing any ſign of aſtoniſhment or fear; whence may be gathered, that he was fully grounded and ſettled in this opinion, that the King had not the heart to attempt any thing againſt him. Thus did ambition blind and beſot this fond and wretched Duke, being otherwiſe wiſe, and wary in all his actions that he thought he carried himſelf very covertly in his practices,

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when in truth they were ſo apparent to all the world, that all the world might point them out with their fingers. He forgot that old proverb (which, having ſo often and ſo deſervedly incurred the diſpleaſure of the King, he ſhould daily have thought upon), That a reconciled adverſary is not to be truſted. Neither did he once remember the ſaying of Solomon, That the indignation of a Prince is death. But his appointed time was come, which he, by no means, could alter or defer: for it is not all the wit or policy in the world that can withſtand or prevent what the Lord of Hoſts hath once decreed. He taketh away wiſdom from the learned and politic, and enfeebleth the ſtrength of the courageous. He blindeth the underſtanding of the moſt circumſpect, when once they oppoſe themſelves againſt him and his Anointed, perſecuting Chriſt in his members, and deſpiſing the lawful authority of Princes: yea, he cauſeth evil to hunt ſuch wicked men, and never to leave them, till careleſsly they run headlong into deſtruction. Seeing this is the reward of wickedneſs, ceaſe, ye licentious worldlings, under colour of religion, to ſatisfy the ambitious luſts of your heart. Ceaſe, ye unbridled traitors, to lift up your arms againſt the Lord's Anointed. Though the fear of God will not reclaim you, and keep you in awe, yet let this juſt and inevitable chaſtiſement, deſervedly inflicted upon the Guiſe, be a warning to ye all, by his example, not to delight in bloody perſecution, prophane atheiſm, and ambitious treaſon; leſt, if you take not example by him, and ſuch like, to leave your filthineſs and corruptions, wherein, like ſwine, ye delight to welter, the Lord find you out in his fury, and make you to ſerve as an example to others, of his moſt juſt puniſhment.

But to return to our purpoſe, the tragedy being thus begun with the death of the chiefeſt, the King thought it very neceſſary to omit no time, but immediately to appoint the other actors their parts; and thereupon, he ſent for the Marſhal D'Aumont, and Larchant, one of the Captains of his guard, and ſhowing them the dead Duke,

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Duke, briefly declared the cauſe that moved him, in ſo deſperate a diſeaſe, to uſe ſo violent a medicine; and commanded the Marſhal to take with him a ſufficient company of his guard, and to command the gates of the caſtle to be kept, and to appoint men in ſuch other places as he ſhould think meet for the quieting and ſuppreſſing of any ſudden uproar that might happen, and to ſuffer none to paſs up and down the caſtle without the watch-word. Then was Larchant commanded to take with him ſome forty or fifty of the guard, and to go with them into the great hall (which was, in a manner, directly under the King's chamber, where, by that time, the Peers and States were aſſembled, not hearing, or ſo much as dreaming, of that which had happened), and there to arreſt upon high treaſon the two Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, the Archbiſhop of Lyons, the Duke d'Elbe, the Preſident de Nully, the Provoſt of the Merchants of Paris, the Preſident of Orleans, the Lieutenant-colonel of Amiens, with divers Biſhops, Lawyers, and other great men, and to commit them all priſoners in ſeveral places of the caſtle. The Marſhal performed his charge very orderly; and Larchant likewiſe, accompanied with a great many of the guard, every man with his match in the cock, and their pieces charged with the bullet, accompliſhed the King's command in all points, without any gain-ſaying or reſiſtance; for he came ſo ſtrong that they durſt not diſobey him, and ſo unlooked for, that they wiſt not what to ſay, but like ſheep, or rather like goats, who are led to the ſlaughter, they were all carried away eaſily. And, leſt ſome buſy-headed fellows ſhould take occaſion thereupon to make a mutiny in the town, the King, at the very ſame inſtant that theſe matters were a doing in the great hall, had ſent one Duchald, a notable captain, with ſome bands of the Switzers of his guard, into the town, commanding to lock the gates, and to appoint watch and ward in convenient places, and to ſuffer no man to ſtir out of his doors, and then to repair, with a ſufficient power, to the lodging of the Dutcheſs of Nemours (mother to the Duke of

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Guiſe, and married, ſince the death of her firſt huſband, to the Duke of Nemours), and commanded to keep as priſoners in their own houſe, the Dutcheſs, the young Duke her ſon, and the Prince de Joinville, ſon and heir to the Duke of Guiſe, who at that time were all lodged in one houſe. The Prince de Joinville came to town for no other purpoſe at that time, but to marry the Princeſs of Lorraine by proxy, for and in the name of the Duke of Florence, to whom ſhe was betrothed. Moreover, the King, to take away all cauſes of ſuſpicion, and fear, from the townſmen, and others, that were not privy to the conſpiracy, cauſed to be proclaimed, that this hurley-burley was only to apprehend certain that had conſpired the King's death, and that there ſhould be no violence or injury offered to any others; commanding all men therefore, upon pain of death, to keep themſelves quiet, and not to ſtir abroad, until the King's commandment were fully accompliſhed in apprehending the conſpirators. Mean while, the King was not idle, but having, before that, determined what to do in every caſe, cauſed the Duke of Guiſe's trunk and caſkets to be broke open, to make ſearch for letters and other news, and ſent for Pelicard the Duke's ſecretary, unto whom the King ſhowed the dead corpſe of his maſter, the more to terrify him, charging him that he was of counſel with the Duke in all his conſpiracies, which he muſt now diſcloſe from point to point; and if he did refuſe, deny, or conceal any thing, it ſhould be the worſe for him. But becauſe, at that preſent time, his leiſure ſerved him not to examine him at large, he commanded him to be committed cloſe priſoner until another time. Pelicard, being afterward examined, confeſſed many villanous practices agreed upon by the Duke and ſome of the leaguers againſt the King, the leaſt of which were ſufficient to condemn his maſter of high treaſon. And, if the King had not taken that time, on Chriſtmas midnight maſs, they had murdered the King, the Prince of Condé, and the Count of Soiſſons, his brother. He confeſſed likewiſe, that when the King fled from the Guiſe out

of

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of Paris, there was a plot laid to have murdered the King, as he ſhould have gone on proceſſion. A miſerable thing, that theſe men, who would needs be counted the very main pillars and only upholders of religion, ſhould, in the temple of God, and at the exerciſe of the higheſt point of their religion (as, falſely, they term that abominable idol of the maſs), offer to pollute their deviliſh hands in the blood of their lawful and anointed King, againſt whom, by the word of God (though he be wicked), they ought not, ſo much as once in heart, to conceive any hurt. But theſe are the fruits of that Prince-quelling profeſſion of Popery, which frames itſelf, in moſt points, to be contrary to God's word, that it may the better be known to be forged by Antichriſt: for whereas it is the expreſs commandment of God, that every ſoul ſhould ſubmit itſelf to the higher powers, as to the ordinance of God, this antichriſtian religion not only alloweth, but alſo, with rewards, enticeth and procureth vaſſals and ſubjects to bear arms againſt their Sovereign, and traiterouſly to depoſe or murder him, without regard either of time, place, or duty, or religion, in contempt of God's ordinance, and the politic eſtabliſhed laws of all nations. But to return to our purpoſe, from whence we are digreſſed: the Queen-Mother, who at that time kept her bed, through extreme ſickneſs and grief, for her eaſe, was lodged in the moſt quiet and remoteſt place of all the caſtle, far from the noiſe and concourſe of people, by reaſon whereof ſhe heard nothing of all this buſineſs. But the King having accompliſhed the moſt part of his deſires, thought good to make her acquainted with the matter, and to carry her the firſt news of it himſelf. Whereupon, accompanied only with eight gentlemen, that were in his chamber, he went to his mother's lodging, paſſing through the great hall, where the States remained ſtill, every man fearing that the caſe might be his own, and revolving in their troubled and diſquieted minds, what might be the ſequel of this ſtrange attempt; and, as he paſſed, they did all humble obeiſance unto the King, and he likewiſe

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wiſe very courteouſly ſaluted them again: neither could they perceive by his countenance, geſture, or otherwiſe, that he was any thing moved or diſtempered with what was done. Being come into his mother's chamber (after he had ſaluted her, and ſome few words had paſſed between them, as touching her ſickneſs, the hope of recovery, and ſuch like matters), at length he burſt out into theſe words: "Madame, there is now no other King in France but my-"ſelf." She anſwered, that ſhe never knew it otherwiſe theſe many years. But he replied, that he was now King of full years, and out of his wardſhip. Whereto ſhe anſwered, that ſhe underderſtood not his meaning; for ſhe never heard of any that durſt or could deny it, ſince he came firſt to the crown, but that he was abſolute King, ſubject to the command of none alive. He then, not minding to hold her longer in ſuſpence, diſcourſed to her, at large, his morning's work, the Duke's treaſons, and the cauſes that moved him to practice revenge in ſuch ſort as he had done. The Queen, amazed to hear theſe ſtrange and unlooked-for news, fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid unto him, "It is well done (my ſon), if it be well done. "But I would you had made the Pope's Legate acquainted with it "before you had taken it in hand, for fear leaſt his Holineſs con-"ceive ill of the manner of the doing it." "That had been the "way to have marred all (quoth the King), and to have had my "whole purpoſe diſcloſed to the Guiſe. But now it is done, I mean "to certify his Holineſs of it, who (no doubt) will approve my "dealing herein, as being enforced by neceſſity to take this, and no "other courſe. And I am ſure his Holineſs will the rather not miſlike "it, becauſe at his firſt inſtalment in the ſee of Rome, in ſomewhat "the like caſe, he uſed a practice not much unlike to this." And ſo requeſting his mother to be of good comfort, and to have ſpecial regard of her health, without troubling herſelf with matters of importance, which he requeſted her to refer only to his vigilant care, who would take ſuch order therein as ſhould be to her content, he

reverently took his leave, and went preſently to dinner, where he fed as heartily, and looked with as chearful a countenance, as if he had, that day, attempted nothing but ordinary matters. After dinner, word was brought him, that the Cardinal of Lorraine took on grievouſly, and uſed divers reproachful words againſt the King, for the death of the Duke his brother, threatening to find the means to be revenged. The King, ſomewhat moved with theſe preſumptuous and unadviſed ſpeeches, and calling to mind the diſloyal pranks of this undutiful prelate, commanded the Captain of the Scottiſh guard to take ſome of his guard with him, and to diſpatch the Cardinal out of the way: which commandment of the King he preſently put in execution, and cauſed the Cardinal to be ſlain. Though this revenge did fully ſatisfy and appeaſe the King's wrath and diſpleaſure, conceived juſtly againſt the Guiſe, yet to the end thoſe of the League might hereafter have no means to make reliques of his hateful body, he cauſed the ſame to be burned to aſhes, and the aſhes to be diſperſed and thrown into the river. And becauſe the King underſtood that the Archbiſhop of Lyons was the chiefeſt man to whom the Duke commonly uſed to commit the very ſecrets of his heart, and that he was alſo a principal deviſer and contriver of all his damnable treaſons, he determined to reſpite his life, and to reſerve him in priſon, that he might, at better leiſure, fetch further matter out of him, and learn of him the very depth of the Duke's intents, together with the names of all his favourers, counſellors and abettors; and at length have him openly condemned by law. But the Cardinal of Bourbon being drawn into this action, by the importunity of thoſe of the League, rather than by his own malice, hath his life granted him, at the earneſt intreaty of ſome of his friends that are near about the King: and the rather, becauſe, being very old, he is not likely to live long; and though he live, he is not likely, by reaſon of his imbecillity and weakneſs, to do any great hurt.

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But,

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But, as yet, he is detained in priſon, as are likewiſe the Prince de Joinville, the Dutcheſs of Nemours, and the Duke her ſon.

When the King had finiſhed this tragical enterprize upon two of the greateſt perſonages in all France, and others of the Pope-holy league, he cauſed the gates of the town, and caſtle of Blois, to be ſet open, that all might freely go in and out at their pleaſure. That night, divers of the Duke of Guiſe's friends fled from the town of Blois, and other places, to Orleans, to the Chevalier Breton, and the Chevalier D'Aumale, who, as is before ſpecified, hold the town, per force, againſt the King. Entragues, having ſeized the citadel, kept it a while for the King's behoof, and, as much as he could, annoyed the town with his ordnance. But the leaguers truſting to their multitude, offered to batter the citadel, and to win it by aſſault. All day, and all night long, the bullets flew between them, as meſſengers of aſſured death, to whomſoever they talked withal. At length, the Duke of Nevers came thither, hoping to play the ſtickler between them. But wherein the want was, I know he hath as yet done no great good.

Sir Edward Stafford, Ambaſſador for her Majeſty in the Court of France, at Blois.

No. XVIII.

ELIZABETH. 1586.

No. XVIII.

Letters to and from Lord Leiceſter, in the Low Countries.

From the Originals in the Cotton Library.

[Theſe letters relative to the Earl of Leiceſter's adminiſtration in the Low Countries, are taken out of a much larger number, which, together with thoſe about the Spaniſh Armada, and the concomitant Negociation in Flanders, would form a ſeparate work, and not an unintereſting one. The character of Leiceſter is ſtrongly marked in them, paſſionate and vindictive, but with more conſiderable talents for buſineſs, than Camden and other hiſtorians allow him.]

Lord Burghley to Lord Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

1586. Feb. 7th.

YOUR laſt letters, come to my hands, were by your Lordſhip written at the Hague the 29th of January, by which I was glad to perceive you had received my letters ſent by Mr. Alye and my ſon; which were made old letters by the contrary winds, which of late have been ſo conſtant to hang long in our coaſt, as either your Lordſhip there have cauſe, or we here to wiſh it; for it holdeth ſtrongly either Weſt, which pleaſeth us to ſend, but not to hear; or elſe in the Eaſt, which diſcontenteth either of us in contrary manner. By your Lordſhip's letters I find many things of my letters anſwered, and ſo I ſhall be able to ſatisfy her Majeſty; but to be plain with your Lordſhip in a few words; I, and other your Lordſhip's poor friends, find her Majeſty ſo diſcontent with your acceptance of the government there, before you had advertiſed, and had her Majeſty's opinion, that although I, for my own part, judge this action

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both honourable and profitable, yet her Majeſty will not endure to hear any ſpeech in defence thereof. Nevertheleſs, I hope a ſmall time ſhall alter this hard conceit in her Majeſty, whereunto I have already, and ſhall not deſiſt to oppoſe myſelf, with good and ſound reaſons, to move her Majeſty to alter her hard opinions. But, to end this writing, I could not but to accompany this gentleman, Horatio Pallavicine with my letter, whom, for his wiſdom and all other good qualities, I need not to commend to your Lordſhip, being ſo well known and approved to your Lordſhip as he is. From my houſe in Weſtminſter,

Your Lordſhip's moſt aſſured at command,

W. BURGHLEY.

Mr. Thomas Duddeley to Lord Leiceſter.

1586. Feb. 11th.

I HAVE long forborne to write unto your Excellency, of the great diſlike her Majeſty hath conceived of your Honour's doing there, touching the acceptance of the abſolute government of thoſe countries, having, long before this time, hoped your Excellency would have ſent away Mr. Daviſon to have ſatisfied her Majeſty, touching your whole proceedings in thoſe cauſes, as it pleaſed your Excellency to write unto me, in your laſt letter, dated the 10th of January, you would do. But foraſmuch as neither Mr. Daviſon is as yet come, neither hath your Honour hitherto written to her Majeſty, ſave of thoſe cauſes which her Majeſty taketh in ſo ill part, all your honourable friends here have much ado to ſatisfy her Majeſty, and to ſtay her from ſuch proceedings, to the overthrow of your Lordſhip's doing there, as would not only breed you great diſcontentment, but alſo be the utter ruin of that ſervice, and country, and withal, aggravate her Highneſs's diſlikes of that action. It was

told her Majeſty, that my Lady was prepared preſently to come over to your Excellency, with ſuch a train of Ladies and Gentlemen, and ſuch rich coaches, litters and ſide ſaddles, as her Majeſty had none ſuch, and that there ſhould be ſuch a court of Ladies, as ſhould far ſurpaſs her Majeſty's Court here. This information (though moſt falſe) did not a little ſtir her Majeſty to extreme choler and diſlike of all your doings there, ſaying with great oaths, ſhe would have no more Courts under her obeyſance but her own; and would revoke you from thence with all ſpeed. This, Mr. Vice Chamberlain firſt told me in great ſecret, and afterwards Mr. , and laſt of all my Lord Treaſurer. Unto them all I anſwered, that the information was moſt falſe in every degree, and that there was no ſuch preparation made by my Lady, nor any intention in her to go over, neither had your Lordſhip any intention to ſend for her, ſo far as I knew. This being told her Majeſty by my Lord Treaſurer, and Mr. Vice Chamberlain alſo, though not both at one time, did greatly pacify her ſtomach; and truly I do know, by very good means, that my Lord Treaſurer dealt moſt honourably and friendly for your Lordſhip to her Majeſty, both to ſatisfy her Highneſs in this report, as in t'other great action, and ſo hath Vice Chamberlain done alſo. But the long ſtay of Mr. Daviſon's company, your Honour's forbearing to write to her Majeſty all this while, notwithſtanding ſo many meſſengers as cometh from thence, doth greatly offend her more and more, and, in very truth, maketh all your friends here at their wits end, what to anſwer or ſay in your behalf. Her Majeſty hath, theſe ten or twelve days, deviſed and been in hand with many courſes how and in what manner to overthrow that which your Honour, to your infinite toil, and her Majeſty's greateſt ſafety and ſervice, that ever any ſubject did to their Sovereign, hath moſt gravely and politickly begun, and hath ſet down many platts for that purpoſe, which I am ſure your Excellency is not ignorant in. And truly the Lord Treaſurer hath always beſought her Majeſty to

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keep one ear for your anſwer to her diſlikes, and ſo ſuſpend her judgment till Mr. Daviſon come, or that your Honour did write unto her Majeſty. The Lord Treaſurer having been from the Court theſe eight days, her Majeſty hath, four days agone, propoſed to ſend Sir Thomas Henneage unto you, with what commiſſion I know not; but Mr. Vice Chamberlain and Mr. Secretary very honourably doth delay his diſpatch, by all the means they can, and hopeth to put it off till Sunday next, at which time the Lord Treaſurer will be at the Court, and then, by his help, they hope to qualify ſome part of her Majeſty's intentions; looking before that time that Mr. Daviſon will arrive and ſatisfy all furies. Mr. Vice Chamberlain hath of late told me of the letter your Honour wrote unto him, which he acquainted Mr. Secretary withal, and took his opinion whether to ſhew it to her Majeſty or no; but finding her Majeſty in ſuch hard terms for your Lordſhip's not writing to herſelf, they thought it better then to conceal it; but yeſterday, finding her Majeſty diſcontented, and haſting to ſend away Sir Thomas Henneage to your Lordſhip, they conferred of the letter again, and blotting out ſome things which they thought would be offenſive, and mending ſome other parts as they thought beſt, Mr. Vice Chamberlain reſolved yeſterday in the afternoon (I being with him) to ſhew it unto her Majeſty, hoping it will be ſome ſatisfaction to her Majeſty in ſome points, until further matter do come. All this they do to put off Sir Thomas Henneage's diſpatch, and yet, if he do come, I hope he ſhall bring no evil news, for I am ſure her Majeſty could not have ſent any Gentleman of this Court that loveth you more dearly, and would be more loth to come with any unpleaſant meſſage unto you. Mr. Vice Chamberlain thinketh that your Honour's own letter to her Majeſty will do more good, and better ſatisfy her Majeſty in all things, than all that they can do or ſay; and wiſheth withal, that you would beſtow ſome two or three hundred crowns, in ſome rare thing for a token to her Majeſty. There be divers of that ſide, who write to their friends

here at the Court, of ſuch things as falleth out there, and ſo cometh to her Majeſty's knowledge by the women, which breedeth ſome offence, and were better they wrote more wiſely, or not at all. The Lord North ſeemeth to be a malecontent, and hath ſo written to her Majeſty and alſo to my Lord of War, and, as it is ſaid here, cometh away very ſhortly. Thus your Excellency ſeeth how your honourable friends of the Council doth make me acquainted with ſome of theſe ſecrets that concerneth your Honour, which I thought it my duty to advertiſe you, hoping your Excellency will take it in good part, and ſo praying the Almighty to bleſs all your doings, and ſend you moſt proſperous ſucceſs in all your attempts. ELIZABETH. 1585-6.

Leiceſter Houſe, this 11th of February 1585-6.

THOMAS DUDDELEY.

Mr. Daviſon to the Earl of Leiceſter.

My ſingular good Lord,

AFTER my departure from your Lordſhip, I was detained at the Brill ſome five or ſix days by the wind and weather. The Friday following I put to the ſeas, and, by God's goodneſs, had ſo happy a paſſage, as, the next morning, by ten or eleven of the clock, we anchored at the Reculvers within Margate, and the ſame night about midnight came to Graveſend, and from thence immediately with the tide hither, where I arrived the next morning early. Within an hour after, I ſent to Mr. Secretary, to ſignify ſo much unto him, and to know his pleaſure where I might wait on him, before my acceſs to the Queen, that I might the better underſtand in what terms things ſtood in Court, and accommodate my courſe thereafter. 1585-6. Feb. 17th.

He

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He returned me anſwer, that your Lordſhip's long detaining me there, had wounded the whole cauſe; that he thought her Majeſty would not ſpeak with me; and yet wiſhed me to come forthwith to the Court, leſt her Majeſty, knowing of my arrival, before I preſented myſelf, might thereat take occaſion to increaſe her offence. The ſame afternoon I repaired unto him, finding him utterly diſcomforted with her Majeſty's hard opinion and courſe againſt the cauſe. He let me underſtand how heinouſly ſhe took your acceptation of the government; how ſhe had reſolved to diſpatch Sir Thomas Henneage to command you to reſign it up, and to proteſt her diſallowance thereof to the States: that ſhe had threatened Sir Philip Sidney and myſelf, as principal actors and perſuaders thereof, for which it ſeems we owe our thanks to ſome with your Lordſhip. I was amazed at his diſcourſe, as a thing far from that I looked for, and let him ſee as clearly as I could, what reaſons and neceſſity had drawn both the States to preſs your Lordſhip's acceptance of the government, and yourſelf at length to yield unto it; aſſuring him that if her Majeſty took the courſe ſhe pretended, not only yourſelf ſhould thereby be moſt unhappily and unworthily diſgraced, but the cauſe withal utterly overthrown, with the perpetual ſtains of her honour, and detriment of her eſtate. Within a while after, he went up to her Majeſty, and myſelf in the mean time to Mr. Vice Chamberlain, whither one of the grooms of her privy chamber came for me; I found her Majeſty alone, retired into her withdrawing chamber, which I took for ſome advantage. She began in moſt bitter and hard terms, firſt againſt your Lordſhip for taking that charge upon you, not only without warrant, but (that which ſhe urged greatly) againſt her expreſs commandment (delivered unto you ſundry times, as ſhe ſaid, both by her own mouth, and confirmed by her Council), as a thing done in contempt of her, as if either her conſent had been nothing worth, or the thing no way concerned her, aggrieving your fault herein by all the circumſtances ſhe might. And, for my particular,

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ticular, found herſelf no leſs offended, in that I had not openly oppoſed myſelf againſt it, wherein I had, as ſhe pretended, greatly deceived the opinion and truſt ſhe had repoſed in me. To all which, before I took upon me to make any anſwer, I humbly beſought her Majeſty, firſt, to retain that gracious opinion of my poor duty, as to think, that no particular reſpect whatſoever could carry me to deal otherwiſe with her than became an honeſt and dutiful ſervant, reſolved faithfully and truly to report unto her the true cauſes and circumſtances of your Lordſhip's proceeding in that behalf; and next, that it would pleaſe her to lend me a patient and favourable ear, which obtained, I doubted not but that her Majeſty would conceive more equally both of your perſon and proceeding, than ſhe preſently appeared to do. And then fell to diſcourſe unto her the eſtate of the country before your Lordſhip's coming. The general diſcomfort and diſcouragemement conceived upon the length of your ſtay. The doubtful terms wherein you found things at your arrival, not only ſome towns of ſingular importance, but ſome whole provinces, inclining to a peace with the enemy, as deſpairing of any ſound or good fruit to grow of her Majeſty's cold beginning. The general hatred and contempt of their government, taxed with corruption, partiality, and confuſion. The continual profit and advantage the enemy made thereof, with the infinite hurt and peril of that eſtate, by no means able to ſubſiſt or ſtand long, if it were not the more timely and diſcreetly reformed. That to help this, and ſave themſelves, they found no way either ſo ſafe or ſo profitable, as to ſet ſome perſon of wiſdom and authority at the helm of their eſtate. That, amongſt themſelves, there was none qualified for ſo great a charge. The Count Maurice being a child, poor, and of little reſpect among them. The Elector, the Count of Hohenlo, and Huenar, ſtrangers, and incapable of burthen. That theſe conſiderations had moved the States by their Deputies, to inſiſt ſo earneſtly and peremptorily upon that point with her Majeſty,

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jeſty, beſeeching her to vouchſafe ſome principal perſon of hers, to take the charge, as the thing without which all the reſt of her goodneſs, benevolence, and favours, was to little purpoſe. That themſelves (howſoever the words of the contract appeared not, in full and plain terms, to expreſs ſo much) did, and always had taken it as a matter granted; and thereupon not only intended the ſame to your Lordſhip long before your coming, but plainly diſpoſed all their doings to that end, leaving their eſtate, in manner, without all form of government, as your Lordſhip found it, till your arrival; and therefore did the more importunely preſs your Lordſhip to accept thereof. Wherein, though you had, under one pretext or other, long forborn and delayed to ſatisfy them, neither flatly refuſing it, for the danger's ſake, nor willing to accept thereof, till her Highneſs's pleaſure had been known, and yourſelf in the mean time thoroughly informed of their eſtate; finding yourſelf at length wearied with their importunities, moved with their reaſons, and compelled with neceſſity, unleſs you would have lived there as an eye-witneſs of the diſmembering and diviſion of the whole country, not otherwiſe to be contained, and kept together, than by a repoſed hope in her Majeſty's ſound favour, which had not only been called in queſtion, but utterly deſpaired of by your refuſal, you thought it better to take the courſe you did, carrying with itſelf increaſe both of honour, profit, and ſurety to her Majeſty, and good to the cauſe; than by refuſing thereof, to have utterly hazarded the one, and overthrown the other. The neceſſary conſequence of which, I proved unto her, by a number of plain and particular circumſtances; againſt which, albeit ſhe could in truth reply little, yet could I not leave her much ſatisfied at this firſt meeting, with any thing I could allege in your behalf; but perſiſting ſtill in her offence, broke many times forth into her former complaints, one while accuſing you of contempt, another while of reſpecting more your particular greatneſs, than

than either her honour or ſervice, and oftentimes digreſſing into old grievances, which were too long and tedious to write. And becauſe ſhe had often and vehemently charged myſelf to have forgotten my duty, in that I had not diſſuaded or oppoſed myſelf againſt your fact, being there as her Ambaſſador, and knowing, as ſhe pretended, her pleaſure and meaning. I let her ſee, that I never deemed ſo meanly either of her own favour towards your Lordſhip, in the ſending of you, or of your own judgment in coming over, ſo meanly authorized and backed, as to take the commandment of the reliques of Mr. Norris his worn and decayed troops, as a charge very unfitting to a perſon of your quality, and utterly diſagreeing to the neceſſity of the time and ſtate where you were; letting her ſee the diſhonour and peril muſt of neceſſity have grown, if either the action had been longer ſuſpended, or any other courſe taken to eſtabliſh their government, than by your Lordſhip; both commanders, ſoldiers, and ſubjects, refuſing all other means, and proteſting rather to run headlong to the ſea, than to fall again into their former diſorders and confuſions. And herewithal took occaſion to remember unto her, that being at the moſt part of the conferences the laſt year, between my Lords her Majeſty's commiſſioners, and their deputies, I had heard ſome one of my Lords, if not her Majeſty's ſelf, anſwer the deputies to that point, that albeit her Highneſs for her own part intended not to take any further authority than was agreed upon, yet would ſhe not reſtrain them to give what authority and commandment they ſhould find expedient and neceſſary for their eſtate, to him that ſhould by her Majeſty be ſent over to take the charge of her own; a thing which, I told her, had been confirmed unto me by ſome of their commiſſioners, ſince their return home; adding withal, for my future juſtification, that I never received line, either from herſelf, or any Counſellor ſhe had, tending to any ſuch charge or commandment; without which, I might have been accuſed of madneſs, to have diſſuaded an action, ELIZABETH. 1585-6.

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in mine own poor opinion ſo neceſſary and expedient, for her honour, ſurety, and greatneſs; proteſting unto her Majeſty, that if I were yet there, and mine opinion demanded, I could not tell what other advice to give your Lordſhip than that you had taken, eſpecially having no contrary direction or commandment from her Highneſs. And thus, after long and vehement debate, for the firſt night, departed, leaving her, as I thought, much qualified, though in many points unſatisfied.

The next morning notwithſtanding, Sir Thomas Henneage was diſpatched in great heat, which ſo ſoon as I underſtood of, I repaired again unto her; and (ſo much was I perplexed) with tears beſought her to be better adviſed, laying before her the diſhonourable, ſhameful, and dangerous effects of ſo unſeaſonable and unhappy a meſſage, and humbly craving at her hands, that howſoever ſhe ſtood hardly perſuaded of your Lordſhip's dealing, in conſcience, as I told her, without cauſe, ſhe would yet forbear to take a courſe ſo violent, not only to the utter diſgrace and diſhonour of one ſhe had heretofore ſo highly eſteemed, and now ſpecially deſerved better meaſure at her hands, but alſo, to the utter ruin of the cauſe, loſs of her beſt neighbours, and diſcomfort of her good ſubjects, with her own diſhonour and undoing. And here ſhe fell again into her former invectives, aggrieving your fault the more, in that, all this time the matter was on foot you had never vouchſafed to impart it with her, which I excuſed with all the art I had And at this time took occaſion to preſs her Majeſty to receive your Lordſhip's letters, which the day before ſhe utterly refuſed, and now, after ſhe had opened and began to peruſe, put up into her pocket, to read, as I think, at more leiſure. At length, having again, by many inſinuations, prepared her to lend me a more patient and willing ear than ſhe had vouchſafed me the day before, I renewed unto her my former day's diſcourſe, in excuſe of your Lordſhip's action, which, if ſhe did reſpect either honour, ſurety, or profit, ſhe would rather eſteem a ſervice of ſingular deſert, than

than any wiſe worthy of her diſcountenance; letting her plainly underſtand, that there was no mean courſe to be taken, either for them or for your Lordſhip, without a wilful hazard of all. That their miſeries grew, eſpecially for the lack of order and authority, and therefore driven to ſeek their cure from the contraries. That the fact, beſides, did proceed from a ſingular affection, confidence, and devotion to her Majeſty, and therefore worthy her gracious conſtruction. ELIZABETH. 1585-6.

That in your lordſhip's behalf, I could not in my poor judgment conceive what might juſtly offend her. For if ſhe would be pleaſed to conſider the neceſſity, as well of her particular ſervice as of the eſtate of thoſe poor countries, left deſperate if your Lordſhip had refuſed them, ſhe ſhould find you had no other remedy; if her honour, what greater might be done by a ſubject, than, without increaſe of her charge, to bind unto her the devotion and hearts of ſo ſtrong, rich, and populous countries, whoſe good or ill neighbourhood might, of all others, moſt profit or annoy her; if her ſurety, what might be greater, than to have the diſpoſition of that whole eſtate, ſo as ſhe might give the law to the one ſide and to the other, and either lengthen or ſhorten the war at her own appetite? And here I urged her Majeſty's ſcope and end in this action, which, if tending to the relief and delivery of her poor neighbours, there was no other way: if to abate the greatneſs of a ſuſpected and dangerous neighbour, there could be no greater or more happy opportunity offered her: If to a peace, a thing (I told her) feared and ſuſpected, what other way had ſhe to make a peace, either good for the poor countries, or ſafe and honourable to herſelf; with a thouſand other things to like effect, againſt all which ſhe had little elſe to reply, than her alledged complaints againſt the form and manner of your proceeding; confeſſing that if you had taken the ſame thing in ſubſtance (which, ſaid ſhe, the contract offered you), without the title, ſhe could have been for her own part better ſatisfied, and her doings, if ſhe ſhould allow of your's, the better juſtified. Whereto when I had replied, that it was not to be thought that the enemy

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might be more offended, or her caſe more impaired by the name than by the thing itſelf; ſhe began to break off, letting me firſt underſtand how little ſhe looked for ſo peremptory, as ſhe termed it, partial dealing, at my hands, of whom ſhe had conceived a better opinion, and towards whom ſhe had intended more good than ſhe now found me worthy of. For the which, after I had given her Majeſty my moſt humble and dutiful thanks, taking herſelf to witneſs how far off I had been ever from affecting or ſeeking any ſuch grace at her hands, I concluded with this humble ſuit unto her Highneſs, that ſhe would be pleaſed, in recompence of all my travails, to vouchſafe me her favourable leave to retire myſelf home, to beſtow the reſt of my days in prayer for her, whom, in all appearance, ſalvation itſelf was not able to ſave, if ſhe continued the courſe ſhe was in, and therefore eſteemed him happieſt, that ſhould have leaſt intereſt in the public ſervice. And thus ended my ſecond day's audience; which, howſoever ſhe diſguiſed the matter, wrought thus much effect, that the ſame night late, ſhe gave order to ſtay Sir Thomas Henneage, till he heard her further pleaſure. The next morning early I repaired to my Lord Treaſurer, whom I met upon the way, and followed down to the court, where I acquainted him with the whole courſe and reaſons of your Lordſhip's proceeding, leaving him as little as I could unſatisfied, in any particular and neceſſary circumſtance. From me he went up directly to the Queen, and, as I certainly underſtand, laboured very earneſtly firſt to revoke Sir Thomas, which failing of, he inſiſted upon the qualification of his meſſage, whereof grew her Majeſty's ſecond letters to Mr. Henneage, to inhibit the delivery of the firſt letters addreſſed to the States, if he found it might hurt the common ſervice; and that howſoever ſhe reſted offended without yourſelf, he ſhould forbear your public and open diſgrace. The ſame afternoon, my Lord Treaſurer procured my third audience, before whom I confirmed my former diſcourſe, which I found her Majeſty to conceive of ſomewhat

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what better. And the ſame night obtained leave to retire myſelf home for ſome few days. Since, I hear Sir Thomas is awaiting the wind, intending to go forward, if the time yield not ſome new occaſion of his ſtay, which I have the better hope of, becauſe I find the heat of her Majeſty's offence towards your Lordſhip to abate every day ſomewhat, and herſelf diſpoſed both to hear and ſpeak more tenderly of you, and, when all is done, if things be well carried there, will, I truſt, deal more graciouſly, both with yourſelf and the cauſe than ſhe hath of late ſeemed affected; which your Lordſhip may help ſomewhat by a more diligent entertaining her with your wiſe letters and meſſages, your ſlackneſs wherein hitherto appears to have bred a great part of this unkindneſs. And albeit ſome of your friends, diſcouraged with her Majeſty's proceeding in your behalf, do happily perſuade you to ſeek to withdraw yourſelf thence, and to get leave for your return, as ſoon as you might, yet dare I not, under your Lordſhip's correction, ſecond their opinion, notwithſtanding I know it proceeds, on their parts, of an honourable affection to yourſelf and deſpair of our ſound dealing here; becauſe I ſee no other fruit can grow of that courſe, than utter undoing to the cauſe, and diſhonour to her Majeſty, and diſcredit to yourſelf. Whereas, on the contrary, the time may work ſome better effect in her Majeſty's diſpoſition, both towards yourſelf and your ſervice.

The traffic of peace goeth on underhand, as I am advertiſed, but whether to uſe it as a ſecond ſtring to our bow if the firſt ſhould fail, or of any ſettled inclination thereunto I cannot affirm; however it be, I have no let to tell her Majeſty, that the difficulties, for any thing I can obſerve, will be infinitely great, to make any ſafe or honourable peace, either for them or herſelf, without an honourable war, which every man here apprehends not. Your Lordſhip's ſupply for men and money hath been cooled and hindred by the other accident of offence taken at your proceedings, and yet live I in

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good hope, that her Majeſty will go through with her promiſe, and give order for your ſatisfying, when this ſtorm is a little more overblown. I have herein dealt exceeding earneſtly, both with herſelf and my Lord Treaſurer, letting them ſee how greatly it importeth her honour and ſervice, and have received his faithful promiſe to hold a good hand to the furtherance thereof.

Of Sir William Pelham's coming over, I wot not what hope to give your Lordſhip; he is now at his houſe in the country, afflicted both in body and mind. I have once or twice already heard from him, and find the gentleman exceedingly troubled, with the ſtrange and hard meaſure he hath received, enough to break the heart of any gentleman in the world, of his ſort of deſerving, that were not armed with his virtue and conſtancy: but amongſt all his other croſſes, he doth proteſt to me, there is no one that grieves him more, than by the malice of his enemies and unhappineſs of his fortune, to be kept and detained here from the perſon and cauſe he ſo much affecteth; as I think your Lordſhip ſhall at more length perceive by his own letters.

For all other matters, leaving your Lordſhip to the report of ſuch as be better informed than myſelf, and craving your pardon for ſo long and tedious a diſcourſe, I will here conclude with my moſt humble prayers to God, to bleſs your honourable labours with happy and honourable ſucceſs. At my poor houſe, London, the 17th of February 1585-6.

Your Lordſhip's ever bounden and aſſured, do you humble ſervice.

W. DAVISON.

Earl

Earl of Leiceſter to Sir Francis Walſingham.

MR. SECRETARY, being loth to trouble my Lord with too long a letter, maketh me thus bold to uſe ſome addition to you, being not only grieved, but wounded to the heart. For it is more than death unto me that her Majeſty ſhould be thus ready to interpret always hardly of my ſervice, ſpecially before it might pleaſe her to underſtand my reaſons for that I do. For my own part, I am perſuaded hitherto, there could not any better ſervice be done unto her Majeſty in theſe parts, and if ſome other man had done it, it could not be but it had been much better accepted. At the leaſt, I think ſhe would never have ſo condemned any man before ſhe heard him. And under her Highneſs's pardon and favour, I dare refer the judgment of this matter, when it ſhall be duly examined and heard, to her Majeſty's own ſelf, or to my worſt enemies, whereſoever they be, much rather to any or to all her Privy Council. All her Majeſty can lay to my charge is, going a little further than ſhe gave me commiſſion for; if the matter be well conſidered, the ſtep forward is not ſo great, if my authority, contracted before between her Majeſty and the States, be well peruſed. And I thank God there is no treachery nor falſehood in this I am blamed for. The Lord grant her Majeſty patiently to conſider by this my doing, wherewith ſhe is any way damnified, or farther engaged to the States than ſhe was before. Feb. 8th.

Her Majeſty, I do remember well indeed, and ſo may you, how before all my Lords, ſhe ſeemed to miſlike that I ſhould take any other charge than as her General, or to make any oath to them here, any manner of way. I told her Majeſty likewiſe in the ſame preſence, it was then for no purpoſe for me to go into theſe countries; for if it were to be but her General only of 5000 men, Mr. Norris had that charge already, and better able to diſcharge it than I.

I did

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I did likewiſe put her both in remembrance of her contract with the States, which had allowed me far more authority than that, and of the dealing of my Lord Treaſurer, and of yourſelf alſo, with them, about a further entertainment for me, as in reſpect I ſhould be their officer, as well as her Majeſty's, in which I refer myſelf to both your reports, being then preſent: for they always anſwered me, there was no doubt but they would deal with me, as well as ever they did with the Prince of Orange. But her Majeſty indeed would not then hear of it, though I made petition to be diſcharged of the journey. Yet afterwards in ſpeaking with her, I found her very well content I ſhould receive any thing from their hands whatſoever, ſo it might not proceed from herſelf, but of themſelves. I did deſire you, Sir, at that time, to move her Majeſty moſt earneſtly for my ſtay at home, telling you how much I ſhould undo myſelf, and do her Majeſty no ſervice, going after that manner. And if I be not forgetful, it ſeemed then to you likewiſe that her Majeſty was willing enough that I ſhould receive ſuch charge and entertainment, as of themſelves the Eſtates would lay upon me, and give me. But I will not ſtand greatly hereupon, but admit me to be even according as her Majeſty did contract with the Eſtates: is it not there agreed, I ſhould be General of their wars and armies, as well as of her Majeſty's? Was I not placed there as Chief Counſellor of the Eſtate among them, and two nominated alſo by her Majeſty to aſſiſt me? I ſuppoſe in this place it was not meant neither for me nor them, as counſellors for the wars only, for then I am ſure there ſhould have been named more famous Captains to aſſiſt me. Beſides, I am there authoriſed to deal in money matters, and mints, and ſuch like, which are mere civil cauſes: if then it be ſo that this authority was given me before, by her Majeſty's and the Eſtates' contract, and that they would, partly from the honour borne to her, and partly for that they would have the world know, they rely wholly upon her, make choice of me, ſo far intereſted already among them, and give me a title and place which ſome other muſt have

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have had, as ſhall plainly appear to her Majeſty by Mr. Daviſon; and that her Majeſty is neither farther charged thereby, nor by any means drawn into any farther action or bond than ſhe was before, and that of neceſſity ſome one muſt have had the place; I would fain know if any other had had it, but one wholly her Majeſty's, whether ſhe had not been diſappointed of every part of that ſhe looked for, ſpecially for a good peace for herſelf and England? And whether the ſaid payment of her waged ſoldiers by them, or the ſtrength of all the garriſons placed by them, or the navy and mariners of theſe countries had been, without this authority to one of hers, at her Majeſty's commandment or no? If then, by taking this place upon me, her Majeſty being thereby no way to be charged, either by the King of Spain or otherwiſe, ſince it was the Eſtates' own election, and a matter merely done by themſelves, to offer theſe great advantages to one of her own; methinks it ſhould not receive ſo hard a conſtruction, ſeeing, by the placing of me, the only benefit and greateſt honour doth grow to her Majeſty's ſelf every way. For my own particular, I know it had been far better another had had it than I; but for her Majeſty, if her gracious good opinion were not prejudiced already againſt me in this matter, both herſelf and all others muſt think it is much better for her ſervice, in the hands of her own than of any other whoſoever. But yet I am now very ſorry that ever I was employed in this ſervice: for if any man, of a great number elſe, had brought ſuch a matter to paſs for her, I am ſure he would have had, inſtead of diſpleaſure, many thanks. But ſuch is now my wretched caſe, as for my faithful, true, and loving heart to her Majeſty and my country, I have utterly undone myſelf; for favour I have diſgrace, and for reward utter ſpoil and ruin. I could have taken warning of this before, if I would have doubted ſo much of her Majeſty's goodneſs, or have cared more for my quiet and eaſe at home, than for her ſervice abroad: and I am not ſo rich, but I might both well have ſpared my charge, and ſaved the labour of ſo dan-

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gerous a journey. But to conclude, if to make her Majeſty to have the whole commandment of all theſe provinces, of their forces by ſea and land, of their towns, and of their treaſure, with knowledge of all the ſecrets of their Eſtate, yea, and to have brought over what peace ſhe would, beſides divers ways and means likely to have eaſed a great part of her charges, only by taking upon me the name of Governor, is ſo evil taken, as it hath deſerved diſhonour, diſcredit, disfavour, with all griefs that may be laid upon a man, I muſt receive it as deſerved of God, and not of my Queen, whom I have reverenced with all humility, and whom I have loved with all fidelity. It ſhall end thus, that as I find myſelf moſt deeply wounded, and ſeeing her Majeſty's good favour and good opinion drawn from me, that ſhe conceiveth I have, or do belike ſeek rather my own glory than her true ſervice, not forgetting that ſome ſuch words were uſed of me, when I made ſuit to her Majeſty to have a few Lords over with me, I do humbly beſeech her Majeſty by you (for I know my writing to herſelf, having theſe conceits of me, ſhall but trouble her) to grant me leave, as ſoon as ſhe ſhall appoint one here, to ſupply my place for her better ſervice, which I deſire with all ſpeed, and the ſooner the better, to go live in ſome obſcure corner of the earth, where I will end theſe grievous days in true prayer to God for her. And, as the Lord doth know, when ſhe thought me any way touched with vain glory, I had no cauſe of vain glory to boaſt of. If I may glory in any thing, it muſt be, I ſee, in the croſſes of this world, which Almighty God ſtrengthen me unto. And ſo thinking every day a year, till I may receive order and diſpatch of this place, I bid you heartily farewel. From the Hague, in Holland, the 8th of February, 1585.

Your loving friend,

R. Leycester.

Earl

Earl of Leiceſter to the Lords of the Privy Council.

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MY very good Lords, I have, to my very great diſcomfort, received from you her Majeſty's great miſlike of my acceptance of this government, and that ſhe will by no means avow, but rather diſavow wholly, that which is done therein. I was ſomeways a very unfortunate man, I muſt confeſs, that found ſcant of her Majeſty's wonted favour towards me before my going to take ſo great and weighty a charge, as this in hand, not being ignorant of the infinite hazards, that I muſt put my own poor eſtate into, both life and all. Nevertheleſs, the Lord God doth know, unto whoſe mercy I do appeal, the very abundance of my faithful hearty love, borne ever to the preſervation of her ſacred perſon, and the care of her proſperous reign, over our poor endangered country, was only cauſe thereof. But, my Lords, thus much hope had I always, notwithſtanding, in the great goodneſs of her Majeſty, that in ſo weighty a caſe as this is, her Majeſty would, before ſhe had condemned me ſo far, have heard what reaſons moved me to do this I have done, above her commiſſion or commandment. And I doubt not but her Majeſty, and you all, ſhall well find, that I have adventured more, to do her Majeſty acceptable ſervice thereby, than to do myſelf either honour or good. And as your Lordſhips have had good experience heretofore, of the uncertainties of theſe paſſages, ſo was I here forty-three days before I did once hear word out of England. And for this matter, to ſatisfy either her Majeſty, or your Lordſhips, as it ought to do, muſt ſtand upon ſundry reaſons which neceſſity brought forth at this time, to cauſe me to accept of this government, which I had delivered to Mr. Daviſon, to declare both to her and to your Lordſhips. I do moſt humbly beſeech your good Lordſhips to examine all thoſe reaſons but indifferently, if they ſeem to your wiſdoms other than might

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well move a true and faithful careful man to her Majeſty, to do as I have done, I do deſire, for my miſtaken offence, to bear the burden of it, which can be no greater than that which her Majeſty hath already decreed, to diſavow me with all diſpleaſure and diſgrace; a matter of great reproach and grief as ever can happen to any man. And according to her will, which I perceive is meant by her Majeſty, I will be ready (ſeeing it not otherwiſe to be preſently uſed) to obey her pleaſure, if it were preſently to give it, without any more ado, over again to them: but reſpecting what hindrance it may be to her Majeſty's ſervice at this time and to the whole cauſe, I truſt I ſhall not offend your Lordſhips, nor her Majeſty, to give this ſimple advice, that it may pleaſe her to ſend ſome nobleman with all ſpeed, whom it ſhall like her, to ſupply my place, according to her firſt meaning, and to revoke me, which I will humbly obey, and take it as a matter from God, who can and will correct the ways of ſinners, proteſting, in his preſence, and by the belief I have in Chriſt, that I have done nothing in this matter, but, to my judgment, of ſuch conſequence for her Majeſty's ſervice, beſides the furtherance of the cauſe here, as if life, land, and goods had lain upon it, I muſt have adventured it, as for an acceptable ſervice. And yet when I ſet my foot on land, I no more imagined of any ſuch matter to be offered me, or more than was by her Majeſty and the Eſtates contracted, than I thought to be King of Spain, nor till I came to this town twelve days after: and yet was there ſome near affinity with this, by that contracted between her and the Eſtates. I have no cauſe to have played the fool thus far for myſelf, firſt, to have her Majeſty's diſpleaſure, which no kingdom in the world could make me willing to deſerve: next to undo myſelf in my latter days, to conſume all that ſhould have kept me all my life, in one half year: and ſo much gain have I here by it, as I have lived and ſpent only of my own, ſince I came, without ever having penny or groat from them, neither ſhall get ſo

much by them all here, if I had ſerved them theſe twelve months, as I have ſpent ſince I ſaw her Majeſty and your Lordſhips laſt: but I muſt thank God of all, and am moſt heartily grieved for her Majeſty's heavy diſpleaſure. I neither deſire to live, nor to ſee my country with it. For if I have not done her Majeſty good ſervice at this time, I ſhall never hope to do her any, but will withdraw me into ſome out-corner of the world, where I will languiſh out the reſt of my few too many days, praying ever for her Majeſty's long and proſperous life, and with this only comfort to live an exile, that this diſgrace hath happened for no other cauſe, but for my mere regard for her Majeſty's eſtate, being driven to this choice, either to put myſelf into her hands, for doing that which was moſt probably beſt for her ſervice, or elſe loſe her that advantage, which, at that preſent let ſlip, was not poſſible to be gotten for her again. I doubt not but, ere this, Mr. Daviſon hath preſented to her Majeſty my own letter, and acquainted all your Lordſhips with ſuch reaſons as have moved me to deal as I have done, who was diſpatched hence four days before I received your Lordſhips letters, leaving me in opinion, if her majeſty had not thus conceived of it as ſhe now doth, that I would have thought my ſervice had deſerved more thanks. I ſhall now attend her Majeſty's further pleaſure, not daring to write to herſelf, being thus offended, but will humbly deſire your Lordſhips good conſtructions of my doings to her Highneſs, if you ſhall find the conſideration worthy, with your honourable and friendly means in my behalf, being a man abſent, but moſt faithful and loyal to my moſt dread Sovereign Miſtreſs, and ſo will be to my life's end, and, to my power, humbly thankful to your Lordſhips all, for the good favour you ſhall ſhew herein towards me. And ſo will pray unto God to keep you all in his fear, with long life.

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From the Hague, the 8th of February 1585.

Earl

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March 10th, 1585-6.

Earl of Leiceſter's letter to Mr. Daviſon, expoſtulating with him, and Mr. Daviſon's notes in the Margin upon it.

IT hath not grieved me a little, that by *your means* I have fallen into her Majeſty's ſo deep diſpleaſure, but that you have alſo *ſo careleſsly diſcharged your part*, in the due declaration of all things as they ſtood in truth. Knowing moſt aſſuredly, that *if you had* delivered to her Majeſty indeed the truth of my dealing, *her Highneſs could* never have conceived as I perceive ſhe doth. For by the letters and meſſages I have received by Mr. *Henneage*, neither doth her Majeſty know *how hardly* I was drawn to accept this place before I had acquainted her, wherein no man living knew ſo much as yourſelf, to have ſatisfied her, as you faithfully took upon you, and promiſed you would, in ſuch ſort as you would not only give her Majeſty full ſatisfaction, *but would procure me many great thanks.* Neither is *her Majeſty informed rightly* what authority I have received, for if you had done it certainly as it was, ſhe would not be ſo offended as ſhe is. For as *you did chiefly perſuade me* to take this charge upon me, ſo yet did I not deal ſo vainly, as it ſeems her Highneſs conceives, as though I was ſo glad of the place, I did not care how I engaged her Majeſty, contrary to her will and pleaſure, by my acceptance of the place, of which no

Denied.

I appeal to the teſtimony of others.

The contrary appears.

He was diſpatched the ſame night I arrived.
Let Sir Philip Sidney and others witneſs.

I did my beſt to ſatisfy her Majeſty, wherein I appeal to her own conſcience and the teſtimony of others.

This had been a trick of ſupererogation more than I was fit to undertake.

As truly and particularly as himſelf or any man there could have done.

His end in coming over, with ſome other circumſtances, may decide this queſtion.

no man knew better how to diſcharge me of that than yourſelf, who can remember *how many treaties* you and others had with the States before I agreed for all *your and their perſuaſions*, to take it ſooner, and nothing did I ſeek more, as both the Dr. Clerks can alſo tell, than to have her Majeſty clear from concluſions in this matter every way, and ſo did you all aſſure me, elſe had I never taken it as I did, which, when I found her Majeſty no way bound, nor tied by my doing, and, by the acceptance of this place, I might ſo greatly, as I have indeed, advanced her ſervice (if it be ſo conſidered) and withal help this country from the preſent imminent danger it ſtood in, made me the more willing to deal as I have done, and to adventure, *upon that aſſurance you gave to ſatisfy her Majeſty*; but *I ſee not that you have done any thing*; ſpecially I acquainting you with all my commiſſions and inſtructions before, *and did not hide from you the doubt* I had of her Majeſty's ill taking it, except you did thoroughly make her know indeed both my care to pleaſe her Majeſty before all things in the world, and the cauſe of her ſervice chiefly, without engaging her any way, cauſed me to yield *to your perſuaſions here.* Therefore I conclude, *charging you with your conſcience how* you do deal now with me; ſeeing *you chiefly brought me into it*, and to ſuffer me to reſt misjudged of her Majeſty, which could no way *have been heavy to you, though you had told the uttermoſt of your own doing*, as you faithfully promiſed me you would,

For the clearing of ſome ſcruples depending on that charge, not for the thing itſelf.

All this while there was no note of any contrary commandment.

All this makes nothing to the purpoſe againſt me.

As far for as I was able.

As much as any private friend he hath.

A doubt bewrayed I confeſs, but no commandment to the contrary.

Standing with her Majeſty's honour and ſervice not againſt her expreſs commandment.

As a man honeſtly affected to the cauſe, and more to himſelf, than this dealing meriteth.

Abſolutely denied.

Though it were leſs than you make it, yet it is heavier than many men would bear for your ſake.

would, and rather than her Majeſty ſhould miſconceive of me, you would let her know the *whole truth indeed*, for that I did *very unwillingly come to the matter*, doubting that to fall out that is come to paſs, more *through lack of good and ſubſtantial* making her Majeſty truly underſtand the caſe, than for any offence in reaſon committed. And all this loſt and falls out *by your negligent careleſsneſs*, whereof *I many hundred times told you of, that you would* both mar the goodneſs of the matter, and breed me her Majeſty's diſpleaſure. But *howſoever it fall out, ſhe ſhall know all my reaſons*, and Mr. Henneage I truſt will his knowledge, and then refer all to God and her Majeſty. Thus fare ye well, and except your embaſſages have better ſucceſs, I ſhall have no great cauſe to commend them. In ſome haſte. At Harlem this 10th of March, 1585-6.

Your loving friend,

R. LEYCESTER.

It is done.

Hereof let the world judge.

Non cauſa pro cauſa.

You might doubt it, but if you had uttered ſo much, you ſhould have employed ſome other in the journey, which I had no reaſon to affect much, foreſeeing well enough how thankleſs it would be.

So let it be, ſo the rules of truth and juſtice be kept.

The

The answer of the Council of State to the Queen of England's letter of the 13th of February 1585.

THEY are very ſorry her Majeſty is offended with the election of the Earl of Leiceſter, to be abſolute Governor; they confeſs her to have juſt cauſe of diſpleaſure, but yet hope when her Majeſty is thoroughly informed of all the matter, ſhe will then reſt better ſatisfied of their proceedings. The authority is given him no otherwiſe, than it was to other Governors heretofore: the words, although they be abſolute, yet in their uſe there, the meaning is no other, than to give unto the ſaid Earl full power to execute the contents of his commiſſion, with reſervation of ſovereignty and property of the country to the people, which commiſſion cannot without danger be called back again; and therefore they moſt humbly beſeech her Majeſty to allow of their doings therein, which are agreeable to her own advice, that the multitude of heads which breed confuſion in the government ſhould be avoided, and ſome courſe taken for the redreſs of the ſame. 1585-6. March 18th.

Earl of Leiceſter to the Lords of the Council.

My very good Lords,

ALTHOUGH I do expect her Majeſty's good pleaſure daily for my revocation hence, yet will I no way in the mean time neglect my duty to my ſervice in the charge committed by her Highneſs to me, nor leave your good Lords unadvertiſed what hath paſt ſince my laſt letters; which, as I remember, was from Harlem, upon the arrival of Sir Thomas Henneage, before whoſe coming I had determined this journey to Utrecht, and was onward ſo far in my 1586. March 27th.

ELIZABETH. 1586.

way; and, for that Sir Thomas Henneage would not proceed with any reſolution here with the States, touching his commiſſion, till he had received again her Majeſty's pleaſure, nor yet thought good I ſhould ſtay my journey, becauſe it was of very great conſequence, and the aſſembly of all our ſoldiers that may be ſpared out of the garriſon, as well horſe as foot, appointed here by a certain day, I did follow the former determination accordingly; the rather being commanded by her Majeſty to take my direction from Sir Thomas Henneage, who in any wiſe wiſhed me to proceed on, till I ſhould hear again from her Majeſty. So I went to Amſterdam, and there remained four or five days, and from thence hither to Utrecht, where I am taking order for the preſent ſervice now to be ſet forth, which is for the relief of a town called Grave, a place of very great importance. We have other places to deal in like ſort with, as alſo to draw the enemy's force out of Brabant and Flanders hitherward, which it is like they will, for the defence of ſuch forts as they have left guarded, and by which indeed they do beſiege Grave, albeit they have laid no battery to it; for there be five ſkonces that they built about it before I arrived here, yet have I, by ſtealth, intelligence from thence, and upon ſome good opportunity, have cauſed it to be both victualled, and three hundred men put into it, notwithſtanding their ſkonces. And now I hope it ſhall be fully relieved, I have ſent the horſemen already onward, being 1500 very ſtrong. The footmen are alſo marching to the rendezvous, and will be there to-morrow night all of them; being driven to ſeparate them for a time; and till the ſervice of Grave be paſt, our horſemen lie at a village called Nycarck, and our footmen at Amaron. Now I am moſt earneſtly to recommend to your good Lordſhips the needful eſtate of the captains and ſoldiers here. I have been driven to borrow for their relief, and for this journey to help them, 4000 *l.* of the merchants of Middleburgh. And what I have diſburſed of mine own purſe is not unknown here, I think, to all men. I would, the full

ELIZABETH. 1586.

eſtate of the diſburſing of her Majeſty's treaſure heretofore were certainly known to your Lordſhips. I wiſh it for ſundry reſpects, but it will require a very ſkilful man to examine it; her Majeſty cannot loſe by it, &c. and it would be a very good ſatisfaction to me. And thus praying the Almighty God to preſerve all your good Lordſhips, do take my leave. At Utrecht this 27th of March.

Your good Lordſhips always to command,

R. LEYCESTER.

Extract of my Lord of Leiceſter's Letter of the 5th of April 1586.

PRACTICES from hence to diſcredit his Lordſhip there.

It is greatly wondered at, that he receiveth no letters from her Majeſty, nor ſupply of men and money, ſo as men begin to doubt of her Majeſty's purpoſe in the action.

The States wonted affection ſomewhat altered, who of late begin to deal in ſtrange ſort.

A general mutiny likely to have followed by practice among the Engliſh ſoldiers *.

The States follow her Majeſty's example in being ſtrait laced.

Speeches given out that her Majeſty hearkeneth after a peace.

Janſey taken.

Grave likely to be relieved.

* Probably that was the mutiny at Utrecht in the march to the relief of Grave.

ELIZABETH. 1586.

March 31ſt.

Lord Burleigh to the Earl of Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

ALTHOUGH of late many croſſes and ſtorms have happened to trouble your Lordſhip's mind, to the hindrance of the common utility of the ſervice of God, and of her Majeſty in that country; yet ſince your conſcience doth teſtify and warrant your doings to have been meant for the furtherance of the weal thereof, and the ſucceſſes alſo, excepting the thwarts from hence, do make good proof that your actions do proſper; I wiſh your Lordſhip to continue your diſpoſition, and to comfort yourſelf with your own integrity, which God will not have oppreſſed, though he may exerciſe your patience, and prove the fortitude of your mind, to continue well-doing, and ſuffer reproof for a time. Thus much for a ſmall preface. And now to the matter; I doubt not but this bearer ſhall come with ſome better ſatisfaction, both for yourſelf and for the cauſe, than the enemies thereof have looked for. Since M. Vavaſor came, we here, that meant well both to yourſelf and to the cauſe, found daily little comfort, and yet ſurely your friends here did not omit any opportunity; but, upon ſuch conference as I had with them, of the doubtful ſtate of that country, I, in preſence of Mr. Secretary, uſed ſome boldneſs with her Majeſty, and proteſted to her as a Counſellor, I could not forbear to let her know, that this courſe that ſhe held againſt your Lordſhip was like to endanger her, in honour, ſurety, and profit; and that, if ſhe continued the ſame, I prayed her Majeſty that I might be diſcharged of the place I held, and, both afore God and men, be free from the ſhame and peril that I ſaw could not be avoided. I uſed boldly ſuch bold language in this matter, as I found her doubtful whether to charge me with preſumption, which partly ſhe did, or with ſome aſtoniſhment of my round ſpeech, which truly

was

was no other than my conſcience did move me, even in *amaritudine animæ*. And then her Majeſty began to be more calm than before, and, as I conceived, readier to qualify her diſpleaſure, and her opinion. And ſo finding Sir Thomas Shirley ready to write about three days paſt, I willed him to advertiſe your Lordſhip that I doubted not but that matters would not continue in that evil ſtate they were; and ſo, as he can tell you, he did write, but ſtaid the ſending thereof one day, in which time, to my great grief, looking for ſo good reſolution, I, and Mr. Secretary, found her gone backward, as one that had been by ſome adverſe counſel ſeduced, to think that all ſhould do well in thoſe countries, though your Lordſhip were diſplaced. And ſo he with grief ſtaid his writing. But yet I did not thus leave the matter; and ſo yeſterday Mr. Secretary and I adventured very boldly to declare our cenſures of peril to come, which no counſel nor action ſhould recover. And hereupon we obtained a favourable anſwer, though not to our full liking, but yet ſuch as ſhe commanded to put in writing, and ſo we were therein occupied. And then, unlooked for, came a letter from your Lordſhip to Mr. Vice Chamberlain, wherewith he made her Majeſty acquainted, and ſhe told him, that ſhe had declared her reſolution to Mr. Secretary and me, and ſo willed him to come to my chamber, and ſo he did, and there we finding ſome new occaſion to ſeek a better reſolution of her Majeſty, we all three went to her Majeſty, and there I told her very plainly, that I did ſee that if ſhe uſed not ſpeed to content the States, and the people of thoſe countries, ſhe would not only loſe them, but her honour in the world, and ſhe ſhould find certainly as great danger from thoſe countries, as ſhe had looked for comfort. Herewith, ſhe was greatly troubled, and ſo, being thereunto moved, ſhe aſſented to do any thing that ſhe might with her honour.

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In fine, we moved her to aſſent, that your Lordſhip ſhould continue your office for ſome time, until the ſtate of the matter might be better conſidered by her. And ſo letters were appointed to be

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ELIZABETH. 1586.

ſpeedily written, both to your Lordſhip and the Council of the States, and that Mr. Shirley might be ſent away with all ſpeed; and when the letters were ready written, came Pointz from Mr. Henneage, with letters from your Lordſhip to me, including a letter to her Majeſty, which I ſpeedily delivered with ſuch good ſpeeches as in honeſty became me, for your excuſe. She read your letter; and, in very truth, I found her princely heart touched with favourable interpretation of your actions, affirming them only offenſive to her, in that ſhe was not made privy, not now miſliking that you had the authority. Surely I had cauſe, and ſo I did commend her princely nature, in this ſort, of allowing both of you for your good intention, and excuſing you of any ſpot of evil meaning. And having her Majeſty in this ſort calmed, though it was not poſſible to make your Lordſhip amends, yet I thought good to haſten her reſolution, which your Lordſhip muſt now take to come from a favourable good Miſtreſs; for ſo truly ſhe doth profeſs. And you muſt ſtrive with your nature to throw over your ſhoulders that which is paſt. Thus your Lordſhip ſeeth I have been ſomewhat long to ſhow you the courſe to bring this honeſt gentleman, Sir Thomas Shirley, to this meſſage, who ſurely hath very honeſtly behaved himſelf for your Lordſhip. And truly ſo hath Mr. Vice Chamberlain *, and Mr. Secretary, and bidden many ſtrange ſpeeches. And now I will write no more hereof, but of ſome other particular advices, the conſideration whereof I leave to your Lordſhip as leiſure may ſerve you.

My Lord, until the ſtate of the Queen's army, by muſter book, and her monthly charges, may appear more clear, here will be no further means for any more money. At this preſent there is paid 24,000 *l.* and that, added to her Majeſty's former charge of 52,000, maketh 76,000, which ſum her Majeſty doth often repeat with great offence.

My Lord, I am very glad to ſee a diſpoſition of ſending ſome ſhips from thence, to impeach the Spaniſh King, towards his Indies. It is

* Sir Chriſtopher Hatton.

a matter

a matter that many years paſt I did project to the Prince of Orange's Miniſters, to have been attempted. We hear that Sir Francis Drake is a fearful man to the King, and that the King could have been content that Sir Francis had taken the laſt year's fleet, ſo as he had not gone forward to his Indies. We hear that he hath taken ſeven rich ſhips on the coaſt of the Indies. I wiſh they were ſafe in the Thames. ELIZABETH. 1586.

We are here troubled to underſtand, that from Hamburgh and Dantzick, Lubeck, &c. there are a great number of hulks laden for Spain, and do mean to paſs about Scotland and Ireland, as ſome of them did this laſt year, which they do to avoid all ſtays in our narrow ſeas. I would to God your fleet, now intended from thoſe countries, could make a good prize of them; for ſo ſhould the King of Spain be unable to defend his ſeas, or to offend any other.

My Lord, where you write to me of that you hear of Champigny's errands, I will tell you what I know thereof; and what elſe is known to any other, I cannot write of. There is an Italian merchant in Antwerp that pretendeth acquaintance with Champigny, and he hath written hither to another merchant, to know whether her Majeſty can be content to come to peace with the King of Spain. The anſwer is made, that, by the publication publiſhed, it is to be ſeen, wherefore her Majeſty hath ſent her forces into the Low Countries. And, if the King of Spain ſhall ſatisfy her Majeſty in honour, according to her proteſtation, by reſtoring to thoſe countries liberty and peace, and to remove all men of war from thence, and reſtore to her own ſubjects their loſſes, ſhe can be content to hear any honourable offer from the King; and otherwiſe ſhe mindeth to perſiſt in defence of her neighbours, and recovery of her ſubjects loſſes. This anſwer is made by words only, but not from her Majeſty; and whether Champigny will any farther proceed I know not; but ſure I am, he hath no cauſe to make any vaunt hereof. And I truſt their need

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need ſhall make them ſooner yield, than any cauſe to come of this anſwer.

It may be, that there are other like motions made to her Majeſty; but I think ſurely her Majeſty mindeth not to ſhow any yielding. For, God be thanked, ſhe hath not cauſe, but to expect the yielding to come from the King of Spain and his Miniſters.

And where your Lordſhip writeth that the coming of my ſon from Brill in this time, may breed ſome doubts in men's conceits. Surely, my Lord, Sir Thomas Shirley can tell you, that, upon his report of his ſickneſs, with danger not to recover without changing the air to come into England, the Queen's Majeſty hearing thereof, without any motion of me, commanded Mr. Secretary to ſend him her licence, with all poſſible ſpeed; and, as I underſtand from himſelf, he is much injured with the noiſomeneſs of the place, where the water is not only brackiſh, but, being heated on the fire, it ſtinketh.

He alſo findeth the town in a manner utterly unfurniſhed of ordnance, and without powder and bullets, ſo as, in very truth, it was as as good out of her Majeſty's hands, by reaſon of the charge, as to have it only in a name. But how this ſhould be remedied I know not, for her Majeſty will not yield to any more charge, and I ſee the States unwilling to pay that which they owe. And by a clauſe in the treaty, they are bound to furniſh both the towns of Fluſhing and Brill, upon your Lordſhip's demand, as her Majeſty's Governor General; and if there be any hope further, it muſt proceed from your Lordſhip as Governor of the Provinces, with the Council of the States. I think Sir Philip Sidney hath alſo ſome want of ordnance, but nothing like to that of the Brill, where there are not above ſeven pieces, few enough for one bulwark: but the danger is not to be feared, as long as your Lordſhip ſhall proſper in government. My ſon alſo brought thither two hundred footmen and fifty horſe, but he could never get a penny for them, nor one penny to that garriſon ſince he had the charge; and yet it may be, that he hath had

ſome

ſome help of late; for the treaſurer did write that your Lordſhip gave him order to help them with ſome money. I am now in doubt to write any further, for troubling of your Lordſhip, knowing how infinite your occaſions be to write, and to read, beſide continual actions.

By ſuch letters as ſhall come from her Majeſty, you ſhall find as much comfort from her Majeſty, as you have received diſcomfort, though there be great differences in the effect; for the former I know hath deeply wounded your heart; and theſe cannot ſuddenly ſink ſo low as the wound is; but your Lordſhip muſt add to this your own fortitude of mind. And ſo I moſt heartily wiſh you to be ſtrengthened by God's ſpecial grace,

Your Lordſhip's moſt aſſuredly,

31 *Martii* 1586. W. BURGHLEY.*

* This reſolute friendly behaviour of the old treaſurer towards his rival Leiceſter during the Queen's diſpleaſure, does him great honour; and ſtrange it is, that Camden paſſes it over in ſilence; but indeed that hiſtorian's omiſſions are very unpardonable, conſidering the lights he had.

ELIZABETH. 1586.

No. XIX.

From the Originals in the Cotton Library.

Letters from Sir Philip Sidney, the Earl of Leiceſter.

[The Editor has ſeveral letters of Sir Philip Sidney; but theſe two may ſerve as a ſpecimen. Had he lived, his uncle Leiceſter would, probably, have been more ſucceſsful in his government.

It is ſingular, that, amongſt the different *Eloges* made upon him after his death, King James's verſes are the moſt elegant: They are worthy of a ſcholar of Buchanan.]

Sir Philip Sidney to Lord Leiceſter.

Right honourable, my ſingular good Lord,

1586. February 2d. MY intent I have imparted to Mr. Lutty at large, to deliver to your Excellency. Now I am only to beſeech your Excellency, and if I may prevail with your Excellency, to perſuade you, that, if the journey into Friſeland be but upon ſuch general grounds, as they were when I came away, which may as eaſily be done hereafter as now, that it will pleaſe you to ſend forces to the beſieging of Steenberg, with 1200 of your footmen, beſides them that theſe quarters may ſpare, and 300 of your horſe, with them hereabout. I will undertake, upon my life, either to ruin it, or to make the enemy raiſe his ſiege from Grave; or, which I moſt hope, both. And it ſhall be done in the ſight of the world, which is moſt honourable and profitable. For theſe matters of practices, I aſſure your Excellency, they are dainty in reſpect to their doubleneſs, which almoſt ever fails in them, and of the many impediments that fall in them, that, if notable reaſons guide not, or ſome worthy perſon anſwer not for it, they are better omitted than attempted. Breda, undoubtedly,

doubtedly, at leaſt I think ſo, was but a trap; for our poor Engliſhmen might have been ſuffered to take a place which they would never have ſtriven to put them out of, till they might have cut both them and us to pieces, who ſhould come to ſeize it. But, as for Graveline, I will never ſtir till I have La Motte himſelf, or ſome principal officer of his, in hand. Therefore, if it pleaſe your Excellency to let old Tutty and Read, with Sir William Stanley and Sir William Ruſſel, with 200 horſe come hither, I doubt not but to ſend you honourable and comfortable news of it; for I have good underſtanding thereof by this ſhew I made: and I know what the enemy can do ſhall not ſerve. If this may be done, 500 pioneers with munition and victuals according, muſt be got; and, if God will, I will do you honour in it. It grieves me very much, the ſoldiers are ſo hardly dealt with in your firſt beginning of government, not only in their pay, but in taking booties from them, as by your Excellency's letters I find. When ſoldiers grow to deſpair, and give up towns, then it is late to buy that with hundred thouſands, which might have been ſaved with a trifle. I think to write a French letter to your Excellency, becauſe your Excellency wrote to me in that language, which, if you pleaſe, may be ſhown to your Council; for, by my troth, they are even in their old train, and may do that ſafely under your colour now, which, before, they did the more ſparingly, for fear of hatred. I humbly beſeech your Excellency, that Morbais may find himſelf comforted for this ſervice he hath done upon one of the beſt captains the Prince of Parma had. I am now departing towards Eluſhing, and the tide calls me away. I will therefore moſt humbly kiſs your hands, and refer the reſt to the next, praying God to proſper your Excellency as I doubt not he will, and ſo humbly take my leave. At Berghen.

ELIZABETH. 1586.

Your Excellency's moſt humble and obedient,

PH. SIDNEI.

ELIZABETH. 1586.

The Same to the Same.

Right Honourable, my ſingular good Lord,

1586. February 2d. I HAVE ſent this bearer, my Cornet, to your Excellency, whom I do moſt humbly beſeech you to diſpatch again unto me, becauſe it ſtands me much upon, to know what I ſhall reſolve on; becauſe my charges, divers ways, and particularly my horſemen, grow greater than I am able to go through withal. I had, of the Count Hollock, a patent for them of Somerdyke, to lodge me a number of horſe, till my company were ſufficient to be muſtered; there ſome of them were, and now they have gotten, upon what cauſe I know not, an act from your Excellency to be free from any. Whereupon, ſo courteouſly theſe boors dealt, as to arreſt my horſes, the very day that I had ſent for them, thinking truly I ſhould have have occaſion to have ventured my life; and would not releaſe them till I had paid them two hundred florins for the charges, as they pretended. I humbly beſeech your Excellency, becauſe I know my Lieutenant hath been at the ſea ſide almoſt this month, to my great expence, that I may have either a quarter aſſigned me, or elſe that to this place they may bring ſuch proviſion as the increaſing of the number will require; for elſe, I being not to demand pay till they be muſtered, nor to be muſtered till my number be complete, it will be too heavy a burden for me to bear, who, I proteſt to your Excellency, am ſo far from deſiring gain, that I am willing to ſpend all that I can make; only, my care is, that I may be able to go through with it, to your honour and ſervice, as I hope in God I ſhall.

For theſe men, they are of the richeſt of theſe parts, and never touched with the war; but ſo do the rich ſtill put off all matters, by ſending to ſome friend or other of theirs in the Council, that may lighten them to burden others. I humbly beſeech your Excellency my Cornet may return with ſuch reſolution as I may either go

ELIZABETH. 1586.

through, or give over my Cornet. For my part, I hope, and am almoſt aſſured, to do you good ſervice, and my heart burneth to do it, if only my ability do not fail me in the way. For Roger Williams alſo, I would it would pleaſe your Excellency to diſpatch his Serjeant-majorſhip univerſally over all horſemen; and, in that nature, you may better allow him ſome good penſion, than by being only over the Engliſh; and ſo alſo for his Cornet, the gentleman deſerves much.

Herewith I will no further trouble your Excellency, but humbly take my leave, and pray to God for your long and proſperous life and victory. At Berghen.

Your Excellency's moſt humble and obedient nephew,

PH. SIDNEI.

No. XX.

ELIZABETH. 1587.

No. XX.

From the originals in the Cotton library.

Papers about a private Treaty with Spain.

[Lord Burleigh, as the pacific Miniſter, was the conductor of this private treaty, to which Walſingham and Leiceſter were extremely averſe. They appear, in this inſtance, to have judged better, and to have ſeen further into the deſigns of Spain than the wiſe Treaſurer. However, it may be ſuggeſted, that Burleigh acted in this buſineſs rather in compliance with the Queen's humour, than his own opinion. In all his letters he appears very zealous for the common cauſe againſt Spain, and the League.

From the papers which the Editor has collected, Walſingham does not ſeem to have had that weight in the Queen's cabinet, which his abilities and fidelity deſerved. The poverty in which he died is a reproach to the memory of his Miſtreſs; if not to that of her Lord Treaſurer.]

Lord Burleigh to Andreas de Loo.*

Signior Andreas,

IT is requiſite for the matter of this intended treaty, that by frequent advertiſements you ſhould as well be acquainted with our proceedings, or with our ſtays, as you do diligently by your letters advertiſe us of your conceits and expectations there. And therefore, it is her Majeſty's expreſs commandment, that I ſhould advertiſe you of her mind, and ſo alſo to anſwer your letters. There are come hither, ſince my laſt letters written from hence the laſt of Auguſt, and firſt of September, reckoning according to the old ſtile, two ſeveral packets from you, the firſt, of the 26th of Auguſt, dated at Bruſſels,

* A Flemiſh agent of the Duke of Parma.

which

which came whilſt I was abſent from the court, having gone to my houſe at Theobalds the 2d of September. The ſecond of your's, was of the laſt of Auguſt, written alſo from Bruſſels, which came alſo about the 9th of this month in my abſence, for I came not until the 11th. All which your letters being brought to Mr. Comptroller, were ſeen by her Majeſty, and yet by her ſent to me, and therewith I was commanded to come to the court; and upon conference with her Majeſty upon your letters, ſhe ſeemed in ſome ſort ſorry to ſee you troubled with the conceit you had of the long delays of the coming of our Commiſſioners thither; conſidering that, although indeed their coming may ſeem to you to be more delayed than were meet, yet, in very truth, the cauſe thereof proceedeth not of any diſpoſition of her Majeſty to have the ſame deferred, not ſo much as for one day, but that the cauſe proceedeth of lack of reſolutions and anſwers, from my Lord Leiceſter, who hath had charge a good time paſt to have induced the States to like of her Majeſty's intention for treaty of peace, both for herſelf with the King of Spain, and alſo to procure a univerſal peace in thoſe Low Countries; without which, you well know, that her Majeſty can make no account of long continuance of any peace that ſhall be made betwixt her Majeſty and the King of Spain; neither can there be any certainty of the intercourſe for the ſubjects of this realm and thoſe of the Low Countries and the houſe of Burgundy, and this reaſon is of ſuch force as no man can deny, but that the intercourſe for Prince's ſubjects, is the proper, and almoſt the only fruit of peace betwixt Kings; and without it, the private amity and friendſhip betwixt Princes for their own perſons, doth ſmall good; otherwiſe than that thereby they may appear in the ſight of God void of malice. But to enlarge this argument needeth not, for you know the effect thereof. And although, by your letters of the laſt of Auguſt, you ſeem fearful leſt the Duke of Parma, and the King's Counſellors there, ſhould conceive ſiniſterly of this delay, as though her Majeſty might mean to

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abuſe the Duke, yet her Majeſty hopeth that my letters written from hence, the ſame day that yours were written from thence, being come to your hands long before this, have ſatisfied both your own fear, and altered a conceit of the Duke, if he had ſo conceived any thing amiſs of her Majeſty for this delay. For by thoſe my letters I did, by her Majeſty's commandment, advertiſe you, according to the very truth of the whole matter, how my Lord Leiceſter had, by her Majeſty's commandment, proceeded there, and what difficulties he found there to perſuade the States and people, to allow of her Majeſty's intention to obtain a peace for them. And that her Majeſty expected daily to hear of ſome better ſucceſs therein, by the travail of the ſaid Earl, who did ſhow himſelf as willing to have a good peace made, for her Majeſty's ſatisfaction, as the Duke of Parma had ſhowed his diſpoſition. So as at the time of my ſaid letters, we did look to have had ſome good anſwer, tending to the acceleration of this treaty, within a ſhort time. And ſo her Majeſty hopeth that, if you have acquainted the Duke, with the contents of my ſaid letters, he ſhould reſt ſatisfied for any ſiniſter conceit of her Majeſty. But now I think it needful to advertiſe you, how the caſe preſently ſtandeth, that the Duke knowing the truth of the ſtate thereof, you well ſee that the delay of the coming of our Commiſſioners proceedeth not of her Majeſty, the ſame being in very truth greatly miſliked of her Majeſty, ſo as ſhe preſently omitteth nothing in her power to further it. For, in very truth, my Lord of Derby, who had been lately ſick in his own country, came hither on Saturday laſt, the reſt of our commiſſioners being, afore that, ready to take their journey, and their commiſſions made ready. And now even on the ſame Saturday, came my Lord of Leiceſter's Secretary, Mr. Atye, from the Earl, hither, with letters to her Majeſty, declaring in what earneſt ſort my Lord of Leiceſter had travailed with the States to induce them to allow of her Majeſty's purpoſe; but altogether to a miſchievous contrary courſe, there was a ſeditious practice uſed in thoſe countries, by a moſt falſe invented untruth, to put into all the people's

people's heads, that her Majeſty had already made a ſecret concluſion of peace for herſelf, with the King of Spain, and that the ſafe-conduct ſent hither from the Duke of Parma (whereof the copies were common amongſt them), was only to warrant the coming of the Queen's Commiſſioners to confirm the ſame peace, and not to treat thereof. To this falſe and ſeditious report, was added, that my Lord of Leiceſter was directed from her Majeſty, to get into his poſſeſſion as many towns as he could, with intention to deliver them to the Duke of Parma, upon payment to be made to her Majeſty of her Majeſty's charges of all her aid given to the States of the country. And hereupon the Earl of Leiceſter knowing theſe reports to be falſe, and yet finding how, by ſundry practices, both many of the States, and a great number of the people, have been ſeduced to believe the ſame, he hath been greatly troubled, and uſed no ſmall labours to ſtay theſe falſe reports, and to make it manifeſt, ſpecially to the Council of State, and to the States themſelves, how falſely theſe reports have been invented and ſpread abroad. And herein hath his Lordſhip been occupied from day to day, this long time, and as he writeth to her Majeſty, he hath ſo prevailed with ſome principal perſons, that are lovers of their country, and do deſire peace, as he hopeth to overcome this wicked attempt, being the worſt of ſome ſuch as care not for the public weal of their country, ſo they may continue their private authority and profit, which by peace, and without the war, they cannot have. And to the end it ſhall not be thought that theſe things are alledged by the Earl of purpoſe to prolong time for ſome other purpoſe, I am ſure that the Duke of Parma cannot be ignorant, if it ſhall pleaſe him to cauſe ſuch as ſerveth him for intelligence amongſt the States, and the towns of Holland and Zealand, to inform him, as I am ſure he hath no lack thereof, but that he ſhall be largely advertiſed hereof, and perchance more largely, inſomuch, for this falſe opinion conceived againſt the Earl, there hath been great controverſy betwixt the States and the

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Earl, they oppoſing themſelves againſt his authority, and maintaining both the Counts Maurice and Hohenloe, to withſtand the placing of any Engliſhmen in any of the towns where they have credit. Surmiſing to the towns that the Earl of Leiceſter hath inſtructions from her Majeſty, to get into his hands all the towns that he can, to deliver them to the Duke of Parma, according to the concluſion which they ſay is already ſecretly made for a peace between her Majeſty and the King of Spain. And where the Earl hath, by his letters and meſſages to divers towns, declared theſe reports to be merely falſe, there was one of the States named Barnevelt, that went to certain aſſemblies, and moſt impudently declared theſe to be true, and that he had ſeen the copies of the Queen's Majeſty's letters to the Earl, containing that ſhe had made peace already, though ſecretly, and therefore the Earl ſhould, upon colour of continuing ſuccours to them, put into their towns Engliſh forces, ſo as the ſame towns might be delivered to the King of Spain, upon payment of her charges, according to her ſecret covenant. Of this Barnevelt's ſeditious, malicious, and falſe dealings, the Earl hath complained to the States, and hath required that he might be charged to ſhow forth thoſe letters, that he feigneth himſelf to have ſeen. And ſo the Earl, at the time of Mr. Aty's coming from thence, which was about the 2d of September, hoped, by the diſcovery of this falſe treacherous practice of Barnevelt, and of his condemnation afore the States, that he ſhall ſhortly after this miſchievous courſe practiſed againſt the weal of the country, and againſt her Majeſty's bleſſed purpoſe, to bring the whole country to an univerſal peace. And ſo we now hope ſhortly to hear of good ſucceſs of the Earl's travail with them, which being certified to her Majeſty, I can aſſure you, the Commiſſioners being in full readineſs, ſhall not ſtay one day longer than ſhall be needful. By this my large writing you may well perceive in what plain ſort I do deal with you, to the intent that if you ſhould find any ſcruple to remain in the Duke's mind, notwithſtanding thoſe

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reaſons that you had to declare to his Highneſs, by my letters of the laſt of Auguſt, you might, with the largeneſs of this my letter, ſtay him from any doubt of her Majeſty's ſincerity. And ſo to continue his purpoſes rather to make peace, than to follow any further proviſions for increaſe of hoſtile actions. As in truth we hear ſo much thereof by the works at Antwerp, about maritime matters, and of the daily aſſemblies and calling together of mariners and ſhipwrights to Dunkirk, Newport, and Graveling, out of France and other places, beſides his meſſengers ſent into Germany and Italy, to haſte the new forces from thence, ſo might theſe things in very truth move her Majeſty to doubt, that in the end, though our Commiſſioners ſhould come thither, and treat of peace, yet there ſhould be devices uſed to break off the treaty, and ſo in a ſort to take her Majeſty and the Low Countries unprovided. But notwithſtanding theſe likely conjectures to move doubts, her Majeſty mindeth to continue her godly purpoſe to contract a peace, if ſhe may have it with reaſonable conditions for her ſurety, and the univerſal weal of all thoſe Low Countries, the Provinces United; a matter not to be neglected by her Majeſty for many reſpects, maintainable both afore God and the world. I pray you remember to ſend anſwer to the points of my laſt letters of Auguſt, concerning a new ſafe-conduct, with a general clauſe for ſuch as her Majeſty may chance to change before their coming thither, if any that are already named ſhould fall ſick, afore they ſhould be ſent from hence. And alſo concerning the commiſſion by which the King of Spain's Commiſſioners ſhall treat; whether it ſhall not be in the King's name, as reaſon requireth? Likewiſe remember the other points contained in a later letter, dated *primo* September, ſent with the other of the laſt of Auguſt, for a ſafe-conduct to be ſent from the Duke of Parma to Embden, for the King of Denmark's Ambaſſador. And in penning the new ſafe-conduct, it is required for ours, to omit in the ſame, a certain ſentence, breeding a ſcruple in her Majeſty, as though this matter for peace had been originally ſought by her Majeſty,

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contrary to the truth of the proceeding, as yourſelf doth well know.

And ſo I wiſh you to enjoy the end of your long labour, wherein no ſmall numbers are to be partners with you, whereof I will account myſelf to be one, that ſhall hope of more reſt by peace, than I have of long time felt by theſe troubles.

Earl of Leiceſter to Lord Burleigh.

My Lord,

September 30.

I WILL trouble you at this time the leſs, for that I hope before this long, your Lordſhip hath underſtood at large my whole proceedings here, as alſo how the ſtate of things ſtood at the departure of my Lord North and Mr. Beale. Then do I truſt her Majeſty is better ſatisfied for my honeſt ſervice done for her, than appears by the letters to me ſhe doth conceive. God and my conſcience doth know, that I have done her Majeſty careful and true ſervice, and ſhe doth blame me (when ſhe ſhall underſtand all her own commandments to me, as Mr. Beale hath them), without my due deſert. For, touching the peace, it ſhall appear, before I had any direct warrant from her Majeſty, I did take a courſe with the Council of State (for the States General came not to me in fifteen days after I arrived), to make them know, that her Majeſty ſhould have juſt cauſe to deal for a peace, for I ſaw they were not able to maintain war. I laid all her Majeſty's great and infinite charges afore them, and ſo did I both more largely, and more earneſtly when the States came to me. Then immediately fell out the falſe ſlander of her Majeſty's contracting and dealing with the Duke of Parma, without their knowledge. Yet before that, as Mr. Beale can tell, I ſent Bardeſius into Holland, to declare to the States, that I found their dealings ſo ſtrange, as I, finding her Majeſty many ways preſſed from the King of Spain, to hearken

hearken to a peace, which ſhe would not do all this while in reſpect of them, but to make them firſt acquainted withal, and would, I knew, offer firſt to join and deal with them, before ſhe would make any reſolution for herſelf; therefore I wiſhed them, their eſtate appearing to be ſo weak as it was, whereof I muſt advertiſe her Majeſty, that they would take ſuch a courſe as both her Majeſty and they might jointly enjoy a peace, to avoid their inſupportable charge, and loſs of ſo many people as daily were loſt by the wars. This meſſage was grievouſly taken, and they did ſend Bardeſius back with a moſt lamentable anſwer, teſtifying their utter undoing if her Majeſty ſhould take that courſe; and the poor man, upon his knees, in the preſence of the Council, deſired me to be a mean to perſuade her Majeſty to ſtay ſome time longer, to ſee what means the States could find to ſatisfy her otherwiſe. That he durſt not declare my meſſage to all the States, but to two or three of the wiſeſt, who returned him in that ſort. And that he would go back again to preſs them to look better about them, confeſſing her Majeſty had reaſon to take ſome ſuch courſe: but he hoped, the cauſe had moved her to do that good ſhe had done, and if ſhe ſhould alter from it, they were all undone. All this while had not I received any ſuch letters from her Majeſty to will me directly to move the matter of peace, as now I find ſhe takes it. But within two days after this dealing laſt with Bardeſius, there came a letter ſigned by her Majeſty, to deal with the States for the peace, finding them not able to maintain their war. Your Lordſhip may ſee, that before this letter, which was the moſt abſolute of all, I had dealt to the ſame effect, but becauſe Bardeſius had not done my meſſage to the whole States as I willed him, I ſent Mening and Valke to them, with more plain inſtructions, as may appear by their own declaration. In which meantime, grew forth theſe falſe lewd bruits of her Majeſty's dealing, and that I had both private inſtructions and letters from her Majeſty, to treat a peace, either by fair means, or by force, and that my ſeeking the abſolute govern-

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government at this time, was only to have power in my hands, if they refuſed her Majeſty's offers, then to compel them. This matter was preſently publiſhed to all quarters, as I then advertiſed her Majeſty, and ſome of your Lordſhips, whereupon it behoved me to deal carefully for the ſatisfying the world in honour of her Majeſty's dealing in this matter, and thought at that time the courſe both honourable and convenient which I took, for ſatisfaction of all men, as no doubt it hath proved, and yet no whit hindered her proceeding to peace, if it pleaſed her, but with more honour every way. Now touching my commiſſion to have done this ſooner, it muſt reſt upon my inſtructions, and upon her Majeſty's preſent directions by her letters; if it ſhall not appear by Mr. Beale's declaration, that I have obſerved both, let me receive blame, and ſhame too; as, in the letter her Majeſty hath written to the States, I muſt receive ſhame; for in the beginning it is ſet down, that I was ſtraitly commanded by her Majeſty to make the overture to them, at my firſt arrival, and that ſhe wonders how I can anſwer it. Firſt, my Lord, let it be conſidered when I came away, whether any ſuch intention was meant, or not. If it be ſaid it was, why was my Lord of Buckhurſt's proceeding ſo far therein miſliked by her Majeſty, and us all then; and why might not his proceeding therein have ſerved, without my going over for the ſame alſo? Beſide, to what end was there 5000 men ſent more over with me, after the miſlike had of his dealing? Was it, to be at ſuch charge, either for her Majeſty's ſelf or the States, to come over to make immediately this overture of peace? Why was the increaſe of her Majeſty's part ſet down to 30,000 l. if I would have ſtrained my inſtructions, but to 50,000 l. by my Lord Buckhurſt's offer before it was, and the States to augment their part to a 100,000 l. to levy an army for the field? Was all this that I ſhould immediately move the peace? A matter which not only myſelf delivered from them to her Majeſty, at my return into England, but the Commiſſioners themſelves in England affirmed

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ed the ſame, both to your Lordſhips and to her Majeſty alſo. By my Lord of Buckhurſt likewiſe it appeared, how far they were off, and what danger it was likely to breed to this Eſtate, they moving thereof in ſuch ſort as her Majeſty did ſeem to ſurceaſe that courſe, and to encourage them immediately, cauſed my going with a contrary ſhow, to comfort and animate them here all I could: ſo that I truſt, theſe things called to remembrance, it will not be thought that I was preſently to make this overture; neither would I have taken that office upon me, as I am ſure your Lordſhip, and others my Lords can remember, not for a 100,000 l.; her Majeſty's diſpleaſure ſet aſide. But, my Lord, as I take it, it was both her Majeſty's pleaſure, and all your reſolutions at that time, for my going, to be firſt to reduce the State to the former courſe it was in, being then much altered, and drawn into faction, as indeed it was, and is; that, that being done, which it pleaſed you all to conceive then, was not like to be, without my own being here, with her Majeſty's thorough favour and countenance; and that if I could do that, whereby her Majeſty's party might be the ſtronger, and the enemy thereby the more greedy and deſirous to ſeek a good peace in time, and that by the ſhow of a ſtrong war between her Majeſty and them, the enemy was like to come to the better conditions. And that theſe things being brought to paſs, the country firſt ſettled, and a ſtrong preparation in the field againſt the enemy, I ſhould then take occaſion to perſuade theſe people to hearken to a treaty of peace, and if they would refuſe ſo godly, and ſo reaſonable a matter, that her Majeſty might and would uſe her own wiſdom for her own affairs, &c. Or if, after my arrival, I ſhould, after all proofs and trials made, find theſe men obſtinate, and withal unable to bear out the charge of the war hereafter, and not pay ſuch debts as were due both to her Majeſty, and to her people in their pay, as alſo pay for the charge of theſe laſt numbers brought over by me, that then alſo, I ſhould not only move the matter of peace, but alſo, if they ſeemed to refuſe her offer,

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that I ſhould let them know, that ſhe will not be at any further charge here, for their cauſes. This, as far as ever I could conceive, was her Majeſty's and all your Lordſhips determinations: for better proof, examine my inſtructions, let her Majeſty's letters be ſeen, the notes of which, concerning that point, I have delivered Mr. Beale, to put her better in mind thereof; and among which, one ſpecial matter for my comfort, and leads from this, her Majeſty doth promiſe, as alſo ſent me ſundry the like meſſages, that I ſhould not in this ſervice lack any thing in the world, to further it withal. And if all they agree with that I have done, and that I have not proceeded againſt theſe, I truſt her Majeſty will alter her heavy conceit, as well of my negligence as careleſſneſs in her ſervice. And withal, that it will pleaſe her to remember her promiſe for my abode, which ſhe ſaid earneſtly ſhould not be above three months. But now I perceive her Majeſty is perſuaded that I am here to my own deſire, and that it was ſecretly my own motion to come hither, and to have this place. For that, I will deſire no other witneſſes, beſides what I proteſted to her Majeſty's ſelf, but your Lordſhip, and all the reſt of my good Lords and friends there, whether I ever ſeemed to deſire, or could in reaſon wiſh it. Firſt, the abſence from her Majeſty; next mine own poor eſtate, in what terms it reſted, and doth yet, I think, is made known to you, and others my friends. The hindrance I had by my laſt journey; the ingratitude I found in the States, and little hope of any good; beſides my years, and decay of health, to loſe all theſe by my journey; and the greateſt of all, the fear of her Majeſty's diſpleaſure, which I got in the laſt voyage, with the loſs, I proteſt to God, of 25000l. clear of expences, beſide all I received, being before at leaſt 8000l. in debt, and yet never ſo near out of debt, ſince the firſt year I ſerved. I truſt theſe be reaſons for her Majeſty not to think I am here at my own liking, for neither do I like the place, nor would have taken it upon me, to have received in gift 40,000l. but for the perſuaſion of your Lordſhips all, and the

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ſervice was thought I only might do here, for her Majeſty and the common cauſe; and this, I take God to record, I ſpeak from my heart according to truth, and even ſo, I pray you, my good Lord, anſwer for me, and be a mean, if ever I may requite it, to help me ſpeedily home. And I ſee no cauſe of ſtay, the anſwer had of theſe men, but her Majeſty ſending ſuch one, or appointing one here to take the charge of her army. As for the authority of my government, I have not accepted of it, becauſe I did altogether follow her Majeſty's expectation for the peace, and ſought to drive as many advantages for her to take her own courſe by, as I could. And now to haſten their anſwer, I have ſent them her Majeſty's mind by Mr. Killegrew, although for my own ſhame I forbear the delivery of the letter, till I hear again. For truly her Majeſty's ſelf ſhall be as greatly touched as I, for thereby will theſe froward firſt beginners of her Majeſty's ſlander take hold to affirm it to be true, as they may, and by the manner of our proceeding hitherto. Her Majeſty may deal as ſhe doth, and yet draw the cauſe from the States, and ſo moſt honourably may ſhe go forward, if as ſafely, which God grant. For it is wonderful to hear how the States are hated, for giving her Majeſty cauſe thus to deal, for now all blame is laid upon them; and this is alſo the beſt and next way for all the people to commit themſelves to her Majeſty's order, as I believe it will fall out ſo. Whereas, otherwiſe, it will hardly be believed there, the great alteration of all men's minds it would make. But all as ſhall pleaſe her Majeſty; for my part, I have ſerved her as I would to anſwer to God for it. I commit your Lordſhip to God, having no paper left.

At Utrecht, this 30th September, 1587.

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

R. Leicester.

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Earl of Leiceſter to Lord Burleigh.

October 30.

My very good Lord,

I WAS in good hope that I ſhould have heard out of England, e'er I ſhould have had any cauſe to write any more than I have done heretofore. But howſoever I am reſpected, I will not omit my duty in advertiſing her Majeſty and my Lords, how matters paſs here in the mean while. The States proceed ſtill, after one ſort, for the eſtabliſhment of their government, as I have already declared. And if theſe men hold their authority as they do, they will ſhortly bring their purpoſes to paſs, ſpecially uſing the matter of peace ſo greatly to their advantage as they do; whereof I have written both to her Majeſty and your Lordſhip at large. And although it will hardly be believed, but by thoſe that be here preſent among them, that ſo holy and honeſt a cauſe ſhould be ſo miſliked, yet ſo doth it fall out now, that the hearts of all men are greatly daunted, and the devices of practiſing heads hath the more way given them to take effect. And nothing doth argue to me greater cauſe to miſtruſt the meanings of theſe men, than the jolity they make upon this motion of peace, as men glad and contented to have men's minds altered from her Majeſty; uſing all the practices and devices they can, to further it. For they are not ignorant that if her Majeſty ſhall leave them, that they have no Prince to truſt or lean unto, and yet do they what they may, to make her Majeſty forſake them. For no men can take more diſhonourable or ſpiteful courſes, ſince the motion her Majeſty hath made unto them, for ſo good a matter, than they have done. They have delivered out in the worſt ſort, and with an interpretation of their own, that her Majeſty hath always had no better intention toward them, than to get a peace in the end for herſelf. That I have been

ſent over, this laſt time chiefly, for that purpoſe, under colour of my authority and government here; and have ſecretly, and ſome ways openly enough, ſought to hinder my credit with the people, all they can poſſibly: whereby they might the more eaſily ſettle their government as they would have it. And in truth they have choſen a fit time for it, and have gotten a good ground for them to work on. For the people they perſuade one way, that by a peace there is no way but deſtruction for them, and hereupon they deſcant upon her Majeſty in the higheſt note, to alienate their hearts. The ſoldiers they perſuade another way, that having peace they muſt be diſcharged, and if they will continue their ſervice with them, they will entertain them ſtill, and agree to no peace, whatſoever the Queen of England ſhall do, who, they aſſure themſelves, will have peace. This is a perſuaſion your Lordſhip can conſider very ſubſtantial, both to hold them with them, and to alter them from her Majeſty. Beſide, if they had never ſo good devotion to ſerve under me, they muſt now doubt, or rather be out of doubt, that if her Majeſty leave them, it is not like that I ſhall remain among them, or have any authority to do them any good. And therefore, if they ſhould now ſeem to lean to me for her Majeſty's ſervice, it muſt be too weak a pillar, ſeeing there is no aſſurance for any maintenance for them. The like reaſon muſt needs fall into the minds of others, that have been, and are well affected, both to the cauſe and to her Majeſty, that if ſhe be minded to treat for peace, and theſe men do refuſe to join with her, it is like ſhe will take offence and leave them; if it ſo fall out, whom have they to truſt unto, or what cauſe ſhall they have to ſtand with me, or to declare openly any affection to her Majeſty? They find the States already, how they are bent by the perſuaſions they uſe in all places, and what conſtant proteſtations they have made of late, ſpecially all thoſe of Holland and Zealand, to go through with this cauſe, both for religion or their liberty, to the laſt drop of their blood; whereby they have enchanted many well meaning men,

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who do not look thoroughly into their doings, nor obſerve diligently their manner of proceeding; for if they did, they would take it, as I am perſuaded it is, the Syren's charm. Wherein for my further conceit of their intent, I will refer your Lordſhip to my letter to Mr. Beale; for being but my own collection, I dare not incenſe her Majeſty, for it may be ſo different from wiſer mens judgments, as I will rather firſt offer it to their examination and conſideration. For if they have no deeper fetches here, than by their preſent proceedings it appears, there can be no wiſe man that beholdeth it, but ſee manifeſtly they run headlong to their own deſtruction, and overthrow of religion, liberties and all. The reaſons I refer you to Mr. Beale's letter; but if there were no more but theſe two, they be ſufficient; the firſt is, to reject or neglect the aid of ſuch a Prince as her Majeſty is, before they had made all the proffers in the world, to have won, and perſuaded her to have compaſſion on them, as loſt people without her, as they will be certainly, without God's miracle. The other is, the ſmall care they have of their conjoined friends and united confederates, as Utrecht, Guelders, Overyſſel, and Brabant, with whom they mean to deal moſt hardly and ſtraitly withal, and even to make them deſperate, ſeeing it likely that her Majeſty will leave the cauſe. So that your Lordſhip may hereby perceive the eſtate preſently, which at more large particularly you ſhall know by Sir Richard Bingham, whom I mean to ſend forthwith over, who is a wiſe and worthy gentleman, and a man of great judgment. And for the alterations here, you may ſee the cauſe, being taken only upon the motion of a godly and good matter, to drive honeſt men to deſpair, and to take themſelves the full ſway of their own will, to bring what they will to paſs. That the people, and well diſpoſed, are choaked by their perſuaſions, and diſcouraged, as they dare not ſhow to her Majeſty that, they would gladly have cauſe to do, nor to me, her Miniſter, fearing my ability, as indeed they have cauſe to do.

Therefore,

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Therefore, my Lord, touching this ſtate, there is but one of theſe ways, either for her Majeſty to concur with theſe mens new plot of government, and yield them her wonted aſſiſtance withal, or to withdraw her forces, and break utterly off with them, upon their unthankful and bad dealings with her, beſide the altering their government without her knowledge, and uſing her Lieutenant as they have done; or elſe to qualify her late motion of the peace, if with her honour ſhe may do it, and to ſend an Ambaſſador to perſuade the people here, by promiſe of her favour, and countenance of her longer ſupport, if they be able, upon further conference with them, to ſhow to her Majeſty that they be able to hold out the war with ſufficient contributions; which, if her Majeſty ſhould find this way good, would alter all theſe confederacies here, as quite as if they had never been, and upon my life, have all theſe fellows changed that now rule, and do with them what ſhe will. And it had been ſo done by the people upon my firſt arrival now, but that craftily they began, by times, to caſt out the matter of peace, and the cauſe of my coming to be for none other, and this they begun with before Sluys was loſt; and they knew it would make a ſtay at leaſt among men, to ſee what would become of her Majeſty's dealing, and mine here in that matter, having good advertiſement out of England to maintain their bruit, as I did write both to her Majeſty and your Lordſhips. In which time, as they loſt no time, ſo fell it out, that this motion of peace was proſecuted as you know from her Majeſty, which hath greatly confirmed theſe men, and condemned me much with the people, ſpecially of Holland and Zealand. Nevertheleſs how careful I have been to diſcharge my duty towards her Majeſty, to ſtay mens minds, and devotions every where, until her doings ſhall give juſt cauſe to the contrary, I will refer me to all that ſerve her Majeſty here, and do not doubt but your Lordſhip, and the reſt about her there, will have regard of this weighty cauſe, to think what is like to be the ſequel of it, if it quell, as it muſt needs as the caſe ſtands,

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ſtands, and as theſe men proceed with it. For if it were poſſible for them to hold and maintain a war againſt the enemy, without her Majeſty; for my part I would fear the leſs any danger to her Majeſty or the realm; but ſeeing it manifeſt, that without her Majeſty's aid, or ſome ſuch Prince, it is not poſſible for them to ſtand, no not any long time, I muſt needs think that the King of Spain muſt ſhortly have them again, in the worſt ſort, and with greateſt peril for her Majeſty. The matter is ſo far carried already, as there can be no long delays for her to uſe, for ſuch remedy as ſhe ſhall think meet. I have been told to ſet you down three ways, for my capacity can think of no other, and they be hard all; wherefore I will refer them, and any other to God, her Majeſty, and your Lordſhip's prudent advices. For I muſt ſay it again, theſe countries once gone, you ſhall never ſee the like ſecurity for England again. A few here, and a few elſewhere, hath brought all this ill to paſs. For my own part, if the loſs of my blood and life could advance her Majeſty's ſervice, it hath been, and ſhall be to my laſt hour ready. And as one of the three ways I ſpeak of, is the way moſt feared, of all the good ſort; ſo if her Majeſty's courſe ſhould light that way, which is utterly to leave them, all would then fall to preſent diſſolution. And I am greatly deceived if theſe that would appear to be the only patriots, do not deſire that way, before the other. Amongſt other things of late, they have, in two or three principal matters, flatly broken the treaty; but of that, and divers other particular doings of theirs, you ſhall underſtand more by Sir Richard Bingham, who ſhall not be long after this, and truſt you will help myſelf to be one of the next after him; the ſooner the better, for I have no means to continue me twenty days here. And I ſee now no ſervice for me to do, except her Majeſty take the laſt way, and it muſt aſk a preſent charge, as I have alſo ſet down to the ſaid Sir Richard Bingham, which I can hardly think of but it were the only ſure way, and moſt honourable way, and the beſt way to bring a good peace about, though not

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ſo haſty and ſpeedy a way, as you are in hand with now; but it is an old ſaying, the ſureſt way is always the neareſt way. God ſend her Majeſty, I beſeech him, to take the ſureſt way, though it were the longer and the farther way. And ſo end, committing your Lordſhip's health and long life to his ſafe protection. At Utrecht, going to-morrow to Dort, this 30th of October 1587. ELIZABETH. 1587.

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

R. LEICESTER.

Good my Lord bear with my ſcriblings, for I am many ways troubled, and impeached, even whilſt I write.

Earl of Leiceſter to the Lords of the Council.

My good Lords,

I AM ſorry that in reſpect of my place amongſt yourſelves, and my hard ſervice here, I can receive no more comfort, or be more regarded than I find hitherto I am. But I am far more grieved to ſee theſe weighty cauſes that toucheth not only the well or ill doing of theſe countries committed to my charge, but that ſo deeply concern her Majeſty, and the whole realm of England, to be ſo paſſed over as they be. As for my own perſon, I know it worth not much conſideration, the more fault on thoſe that have made no better choice; but to lay ſo great a charge upon a man ſo little cared for, is not well. For it is hardly ſeen, that ſuch a charge ſhould go without better countenance, or more credit than I have received, to further this ſervice withal. I truſt I have not failed to make known, both to her Majeſty and ſome of your Lordſhips, from time to time, the ſtate of theſe countries, and of my charge; but how ſeldom I have received either her pleaſure or direction, I know beſt, that have ſo often craved it. Only for the motion of peace, which as 1587. Nov. 6th.

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ſoon as I had her Majeſty's commandment, I did propound it to the States, and yet was greatly blamed that I had not done it ſooner, though without ſo good warrant as I take it. Yet what care I had to do it, according to ſuch inſtructions as I had, that might be moſt to her Majeſty's honour, and the ſafety of the cauſe here, I refer me to my general declarations, as well to her Majeſty's ſelf, as to others, and ſpecially Mr. Beale, who was privy, and acquainted with the whole; but what effect hath followed the alteration of that courſe, and the want of ſupply of that, which I did humbly give my advice to her Majeſty for, doth now appear; which was, to ſend over ſome man of credit, to have dealt with theſe men at large, and ſubſtantially, as well touching their ill dealing with her Majeſty, as to proceed with the motion for the treaty of peace, in ſuch ſort as might withal retain the hearts and good affections of the people toward her. I did not deſire this, for that I was not both willing and ready to do it myſelf, or any other ſervice her Majeſty would command me, but I did truly ſet down unto her, how unfit I was of all others, to uſe that kind of ſervice, being ſo greatly ſuſpected, or rather detracted by the State's dealing as I was, wherein alſo they did her Majeſty no little wrong, in the public reports they made, unto which I thought myſelf bound in duty to make anſwer, as I did, and did ſend it over to your Lordſhips by Atye. A thing which I am ſure gave great ſatisfaction here to all the better ſort, and no hindrance at all to that purpoſe which her Majeſty intended, but very great furtherance, as I can well prove; albeit it was here given out, and brought from England, that her Majeſty reproved it, ſaying, that I had abſolute commandment to have broken the matter of treaty, upon my firſt arrival to the States, and did reſt in great offence toward me therefore; which opinion yet remains, and is given out by ſuch as would have my credit ſtand in ſuſpence. But touching this matter, I have both declared to her Majeſty by writing, what effect it hath taken, as alſo by Sir Richard Bingham, who hath been an ear and eye-witneſs of it. The

matter

matter I fear hath not bred more confuſion among men here, than it will cauſe of great trouble ere long to her Majeſty, and as alſo there. For as peace, no doubt, of itſelf, is a moſt happy and bleſſed gift of God to all people on the earth, ſo yet in theſe days, all circumſtances conſidered, between ſuch Princes, where ſo great diffeences are, ſpecially for the church of God, and the conſciences of men, it muſt be deeply weighed, whether, to defend the enemy by ſuch a war, or be reconciled to him by a dangerous peace, be better. But chiefly to examine the likelihood of the peace thoroughly, before we be too far lulled with the name and hope of it, leſt it bewitch us, and bring us to a dangerous and moſt ſenſeleſs ſecurity. And that we may look very preciſely into the charmers, both abroad and at home. For, moſt aſſuredly, there be great treaſons and treacheries in hand, at this preſent. And as England hath been long, to her Majeſty's great peril, infected with ſuch, ſo do I greatly fear that they had never greater affinity with theſe abroad, than at this hour. I have not ſpared to write my opinion of ſome in theſe parts, nor to declare the preſumptions I have gathered of ſome notable revolt here, not in the generality, but by the ſubtle practice and ſecret conjuration of a few, that are (no doubt) bought by the King, and they will ſell their country. I have, heretofore, deſcribed the nature and condition of theſe men, they be covetous, they be without religion, and the chief of them ſtrangers. They love not the good people of the country, and they know the people doth hate them. For the better confirmation of my conceit, they have made no officers nor magiſtrates theſe ſeven years, but the lewdeſt and worſt diſpoſed perſons, both in religion and otherwiſe, that they can find out. They ſeek, all ways that may be, to deface all her Majeſty's doings to the people, and to withdraw their good minds from her. They ſhow open miſlike and hate to our nation, that, with loſs of their blood, and long ſerving them, hath made ſufficient proof of their well deſerving. Their ſmall account they make of her Majeſty's favour and aid to

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 them,

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them, which would more flatly appear, but for fear of the people, and yet be they aſſured that without it they cannot ſtand; the little or no preparations, indeed, that they make to reſiſt, or annoy the enemy; the appointing ſuch to have the command of their men of war, that are wholly at their devotion, making the colour of it, as though it were done only by the Counts Maurice and Hollock, for private diſlike of me, which I know they have no cauſe at all at my hands to do ſo; and alſo their keeping the payment of all ſoldiers to themſelves, and to be the more ſure of them; the careleſsneſs for the ſuccour of Sluys, or providing any place beſide to reſiſt the enemy; the continual information I have from well-willers on the other ſide, who affirm certainly, that there be of the States reconciled to the King, and hath offered all ſervice to render the countries again, and to help to drive out the Engliſh. Theſe be of the States of Holland, and ſome of Zealand, I ſpeak of, who do not only impeach all the reſt that are well affected, by reaſon of their credit and their numbers, being the greater, but do what they can to diſcourage the reſt of the provinces united with them: inſomuch as of late they have taken a reſolute order, that all their contributions, which is two parts of three, ſhall go only to the payment of their own garriſons, and defence of their own towns. They have made profit of this motion of peace, as I have told you, to diſcredit her Majeſty if they can, and to diſgrace me with the people, that they may the better proceed in their devices and practices. For, in this mean while, is the enemy grown very mighty, both by land and water. He never yet had that ſtrength by much. He hath all preparations ready, as well by water as land, to beſiege or attempt any place. He is near 40,000 men for certain. The States prepare yet no reſiſtance; beſide they have given it out, that all was for France, till now that they be ready to march. I have ſent for as many men as are within my commandment, to furniſh Bergen-op-Zoom, a place very like they will ſeek, which will aſk at the leaſt 3000 men, to de-

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fend ſuch a ſiege as the Prince will make; which if I can ſee ſo furniſhed, as may probably be kept, we will defend it, otherwiſe I will deliver it to the States, and ſave our people, and let them either defend it or loſe it. And I doubt not we ſhall have enough to do to defend theſe other towns in her Majeſty's charge, if the forces be ſuch as I hear, and any of the States traitors, as is to be greatly ſuſpected. For my part, ſince you have left me here all this while, and all our Engliſh forces, which were almoſt 6000, beſides the ordinary, revoked and diſcharged, I will leave my bones here alſo, if there be any attempt made to this place; and do truſt your Lordſhips will conſider, what importance it is of for her Majeſty, as well for her money, as to procure a treaty, and it muſt be as well defended by ſea, as by land, or elſe, if the country revolt, it will ſurely be put in great hazard. For myſelf, I am at this preſent, and a good while have been leſs regarded, and worſe left than Sir John Norris was. For I left him not only all the captains and officers, that were under me, both noblemen and others, but 2000 Engliſh ſoldiers in the States pay. I am not only left without thoſe I brought, and thoſe in the States pay, but all officers diſcharged, and ſuch able men as are fit now, at ſuch a time, to take charge, and give direction. I have now ſtaid Sir William Pelham, till I hear from your Lordſhips, whom I had once diſcharged fully, and Sir William Reid had his paſſport to go over, whom I yet ſtay alſo; not doubting but you will all have that due care over theſe countries generally, and theſe places of her Majeſty's particularly, that ſhall be meet for ſo great and faithful Counſellors to her Majeſty, and to your country. For myſelf, it is no time now to complain, or to ſtand upon mine own cauſes. I am here, as you have known, and may perceive by this declaration, with ſmall honour to her Majeſty, and leſs credit to myſelf. I beſeech you now weigh me as a poor man in her ſervice, and as but a governor of Fluſhing or Brill. I would be ſorry to be lingering on this long, to receive now the diſhonour of loſs within

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my charge, of any place of her Majeſty's, as I muſt think them in great danger. But whatſoever ſhall go, my life ſhall be loſt withal. There be ſome captains there, I would they were ſent over in haſte, as Sir Roger Williams, Sir Har. Norris to the Brill, and his brother, whoſe company is at Oſtend. Thus I commend the ſtate of this place ſpecially to your Lordſhips, that there may be victual in readineſs prepared, for we muſt not truſt to theſe countries help now, and your navy with all ſpeed, for therein will conſiſt our chief ſurety. And ſo I commit your Lordſhips all, to the ſafe protection of the Almighty. In much haſte this 6th of November 1587.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured poor friend,

R. LEICESTER.

I will not fail to take the beſt order I can deviſe for the defence of this iſle of Walckeren, and have ſent to the States again, to ſee their care. Sir William Pelham I ſent to Bergen-op-Zoom, to give order there, and look for him this night again. I forgot to move your Lordſhips alſo, to have five or ſix thouſand men in readineſs, neareſt the coaſt, for all events; and to keep Sir Richard Bingham ready, if need be, that he may return.

Sir

Sir Francis Walſingham to the Earl of Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

IN the midſt of my diet I fell into a fever, and ſince my recovery of the fever, I am troubled greatly with a defluction of an humour into one of mine eyes, which hath been the cauſe why your Lordſhip hath not heard from me theſe many days. I hope your Lordſhip, conſidering it groweth from the hand of God, will excuſe me. 1587. October 9th.

I doubt not but that your Lordſhip is thoroughly acquainted with our Court proceedings, ſince the return of the Lord North, and my brother Beale. From him, and other your Lordſhip's honourable friends in Court, I know you are informed, how offenſively it is taken, that the matter of peace goeth ſlowly forward there. It is reported that both Mr. Herbert the Maſter of the Requeſts, and Mr. Ortell, ſhall preſently repair over, to deal effectually with the States, for the advancement of the ſaid peace. And it is alſo ſaid that our Commiſſioners ſhall put themſelves preſently in a readineſs to depart into thoſe countries, to the end, that when the States have given their aſſents to yield to the treaty, there may be no time loſt. There is the more haſte made in this matter, for that Andreas de Loo doth write, that the Duke of Parma thinketh he is but mocked and dallied withal; and that he doubteth greatly, that, if the Commiſſioners ſhall not be preſently ſent over, the ſaid Duke will break off, and not proceed to the treaty, which we do believe here to be moſt true; and will, by no means, be perſuaded that the King of Spain and the ſaid Duke do but dally with us; ſo ſtrong a conceit are we grown to have of both their ſincerities, contrary to the opinion of all men of judgment, ſeeing the great preparations made both by ſea and land.

Sir

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Sir Edward Stafford hath advertiſed hither, that the French King hath eſpecially ſent unto his agent in Spain, to learn there, whether the King of Spain meant ſoundly to proceed in this treaty of peace with the Queen, from whom he hath received undoubted anſwer, that the King doth it only to win time, and to abuſe the Queen of England. This, notwithſtanding that Mr. Stafford hath gotten it from one of good account about the King, is offenſively taken here; ſo much do we miſlike any thing that may hinder the ſaid treaty of peace.

Your Lordſhip hath done very well to cauſe Monſieur Averley that came from Monſieur Segure to make report unto me only, of that he had to ſay; for otherwiſe great inconveniences might have grown thereby, to the prejudice of the common cauſe. I think he ſhall return, without imparting the matter to any other.

Such news as I have received out of France, touching the King of Navarre*, and the Reiſters camp†, I ſend herewith unto your Lordſhip. And ſo moſt humbly take my leave.

From my houſe in London the 9th of October 1587.

Your Lordſhip's to command,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

* The battle of Coutras was fought the 20th of October.

† The Reiſters were overthrown by the Duke of Guiſe.

Sir

Sir Francis Walſingham to the Earl of Leiceſter.

My very good Lord,

ALTHOUGH it hath pleaſed God to quit of my fever, yet is not my body reſtored to that ſtate of ſtrength, as that either my hand or head can endure the uſe of my pen; and therefore I am humbly to pray your Lordſhip to excuſe me, in that I write not with mine own hand. Touching the reſolution taken, both for your Lordſhip's return, and the cauſes of thoſe countries, ſince the arrival of Sir Richard Bingham, I can ſay nothing. I pray God they may fall out to your Lordſhip's contentment, who hath received as hard meaſure as ever nobleman, or any other meaner miniſter, that hath at any time been employed in foreign ſervice. I fear there is not care taken in the manner of your Lordſhip's revocation, both of her Majeſty's honour, and your Lordſhip's, as appertaineth. But good my Lord, let nothing ſtay you there (unleſs ſome extraordinary cauſe fall out, as your return may breed ſuch a change there, as may endanger this eſtate), for your continuance will but work you increaſe of diſhonour and diſgrace. A letter from the Duke of Parma to her Majeſty, hath bred in her ſuch a dangerous ſecurity, as all advertiſements of perils and danger are neglected, and great expedition is uſed in diſpatching of the Commiſſioners, Sir James Crofts * being now appointed to ſupply Sir John Herbert's place, unto which I fear that, if my ſickneſs had not been the lot, I had been preferred, which would have drawn her Majeſty's diſpleaſure upon me, being fully reſolved, in no ſort, to have accepted thereof, for that I would be loth to be employed in a ſervice, that all men of judgment may ſee apparently (in reſpect of the handling of the matter) cannot but work her Majeſty's ruin. I pray God, I, and others of my opinion, may prove in this falſe prophets. 1587. Nov. 12th.

* Comptroller of the Houſhold.

Scotland

ELIZABETH. 1587.

Scotland is altogether neglected, from whence all our miſchief is like to come, where the employment of 2000 men by the enemy, with ſome portion of treaſure, may more annoy us, than 30,000 men landed in any part of this realm. No one thing more doth prognoſticate an alteration of the eſtate, than that a Prince of her Majeſty's judgment, ſhould neglect, in reſpect of a little charges, the ſtopping of ſo dangerous a gap, as that is like to prove. What practices have this laſt year been ſet abroach in that realm, tending to the annoyance of this realm, your Lordſhip, by the encloſed extracts (which I pray you may be reſerved unto yourſelf) ſhall perceive. Monſieur Junius, ſent from the Duke Caſimir, is now returned with ſome weak ſatisfaction, ſuch as I fear will breed no great contentment; for we have not ſkill here, neither of timely, nor thorough doing. The manner of our cold and careleſs proceeding here, in this time of peril and danger, maketh me to take no comfort of my recovery of health, for that I ſee apparently, unleſs it ſhall pleaſe God in mercy, and miraculouſly, to preſerve us, we cannot long ſtand. And ſo, recommending your Lordſhip unto his protection, and wiſhing your ſpeedy return, I moſt humbly take my leave. From my houſe in London the 12th of November 1587.

Your Lordſhip's to command,

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

Sir Richard Bingham doth acknowledge himſelf greatly bound unto your Lordſhip for your honourable account of him. For the which he leaveth nothing undone that may expreſs his thankfulneſs.

No. XXI.

ELIZABETH. 1588.

No. XXI.

Letters from Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford, Ambaſſador at the Court of France.

From the Originals in the Paper Office.

[Theſe diſpatches are given as ſpecimens of the ordinary correſpondence of Secretary Walſingham with the Queen's Miniſters abroad. He was once deceived; and that was by the crafty Charles IX. and his more crafty and profligate mother Catherine of Medicis, in 1572. He thought them ſincere with regard to the Proteſtants. It made that impreſſion on him, that he took care never to be over-reached again. He delivered himſelf up entirely to his buſineſs; was ſo frank as often to diſpleaſe a Miſtreſs, who, with great qualities, was capricious and dilatory.—This collection ſhews, what no other gives the leaſt intimation of, that he was ſometimes left out of the ſecret, as in the previous negociation with the Duke of Parma; and was on the point of reſigning.—His connection with Leiceſter is ſtrongly marked in the letters between them.]

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

SIR,

HER Majeſty's pleaſure is, you ſhall, at ſuch time as may ſeem beſt unto you, repair to the King, and, with ſome ſhew of conceived unkindneſs, declare unto him, that ſhe hath great cauſe to find herſelf very much grieved; for that having moſt conſtantly embraced and entertained his friendſhip, and thereof, from time to time, yielded manifeſt proofs and teſtimonies; namely, of late, that ſhe ſent two miniſters of her's, one after another, expreſsly unto him, to make offer unto him of neighbourly aid and aſſiſtance, upon the accident that fell out of the outrage and revolt committed by the Duke of Guiſe; he ſeemeth now to yield her a very unkind requital thereof in divers things; among which her Majeſty's pleaſure is, September 8th.

ELIZABETH. 1588.

you ſhould firſt make mention of the Galeaſſe*, which, being entered and won by her ſubjects, with the loſs of their blood, and divers of their lives, ſhe cannot but think it a very hard point, that the ſtrictneſs of law ſhould ſo far prevail againſt good debts, and the reſpect of profeſſed friendſhip and good neighbourhood, as that reſtitution of the ordnance of the ſame ſhould be made unto the enemy, becauſe the ſaid Galleaſſe ran on ground within gun-ſhot of Calais. Adding thereunto alſo, the ſtrange demeanour towards her, of his ſubjects of Newhaven, in the road whereof, one of the enemy's veſſels of the number of their fleet, being aſſailed by one of her ſhips, the Lieutenant of the Town, as her Majeſty is informed, making himſelf in a manner a party againſt her with the enemy, planted his ordnance upon the ſands, and diſcharged the ſame upon her ſaid ſhip. Furthermore, ſhe would have you alſo take knowledge in her name of a ſpecial meſſenger ſent unto the Pope, to ſue unto him for a diſpenſation with his oath taken for obſervation of the alliance and treaties that have been heretofore paſſed between both their progenitors; and to let him underſtand, that if he have any ſuch meaning to break off the ſaid alliance with her, he ſhall do honourably to make it in plain ſort known to her.

Laſtly, Her Majeſty's pleaſure is, you ſhould, to the ſame purpoſe, acquaint him with the words printed in the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's oration, of his pretended renouncing of her alliance and amity, wherein ſhe conceiveth that he cannot, in honour and due regard of her ſatisfaction, but juſtify himſelf to the world, by ſome public writing. This do I write by her Majeſty's commandment, and yet can I not but adviſe you, if you ſee the delivery thereof unto the King, in ſuch ſort as the ſame is ſet down, will do any harm, to uſe your diſcretion; for it is hard here to preſcribe what is fit to be done there. It behoveth her Majeſty greatly to continue amity with that crown; and therefore it is not convenient that any breach ſhould grow between us upon light quarrels. This intended aſſembly† at

* A Spaniſh man of war taken off Calais. † Of the States.

Blois

ELIZABETH. 1588.

Blois will diſcover what is to be looked for from thence. If there were true magnanimity in the French King, I ſhould hope well; but when I look into his weakneſs, I rather deſpair than hope.

Her Majeſty findeth it ſtrange, that you ſhould make any doubt touching the matter of the pique and jealouſy between the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards, being that the continuance thereof cannot but advance her ſervice; and therefore ſhe would have you, by all means poſſible, to nouriſh the ſame.

We hear, out of the Low Countries, that the ſaid Duke is at Bruſſels, and hath drawn all his forces up into Brabant, with a purpoſe, as it is thought, to attempt ſomewhat againſt Bergen-op-zoom.

How things do ſtand in Scotland, you ſhall perceive by the incloſed copy of a letter from Sir Robert Sidney.

For the Spaniſh fleet, ſince the news of their doubling the north iſle of Scotland, we have not certainly heard of their courſe, and yet do in reaſon ſuppoſe, that they are, e'er this time, at home. Some report is given out, that they had loſt a great number of their ſhips towards the back ſide of Ireland in the laſt ſtorm, and were returned home but forty ſail; but we have no ſufficient ground to give credit thereto. And ſo I commit you to God. At St. James's, 8th September, 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

ELIZABETH. 1588.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

SIR,

September 30. I DO make this diſpatch unto you, to let you underſtand of ſuch advertiſements as we have lately received out of Ireland; which it is thought meet to ſend unto you, to the end you may be able to ſatisfy ſuch as ſhall be deſirous to know thereof, which cannot be conſtructed to be delivered of any cunning on our part, conſidering that they are the confeſſions and teſtimonies of our adverſaries themſelves, and therefore it hath been thought convenient to commit them to the print*. For the particularities I refer you to the printed book. We do look ſhortly to hear from thence of other ſhips to fall into the like diſtreſs, for the ſouth-weſt winds have blown ſo hard, as, in the judgment of our ſeamen, it hath not been poſſible for them to return into Spain. It is likewiſe meant, that within a while, the ſubſtance of the whole proceedings of the Spaniſh navy, and ours, ſhall be publiſhed both in French and Italian †.

Touching that you writ to me in your laſt letters, if you had authority to put the French King in you would hope to do ſome good: the Queen hath willed me to let you underſtand, that ſhe marvelleth you ſhould expect any ſuch commiſſion, conſidering that, in a matter tending ſo much to the benefit of her ſervice, you may, without further authority, do all good offices that occaſion ſhall require.

Other matter we have nothing here meet for your knowledge, but that, upon advertiſement received, that the Duke of Parma hath brought his forces about Bergen-op-zoom, and drawn the cannon thither, intending to employ his whole power againſt that place, her Majeſty meaning not to give over the honour ſhe hath already

* This is republiſhed in the Harleian Miſcellany.

† There were two accounts publiſhed by authority, one called a letter to D. B. Mendoza, the other ſaid to be tranſlated from the Italian.

gotten,

gotten, hath given order for the ſending thither of 1500 men from hence, of her own ſubjects, and 500 Walloons of the ſtrange churches, which, together with the ſtrength that is already in the town, we hope ſhall be able to hold the place, and to repulſe the Duke. ELIZABETH. 1588.

From the Court at St. James's, the 30th of September, 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

SIR,

HER Majeſty conſidering how much it importeth the quietneſs and ſafety of the Princes of this part of Chriſtendom, to uſe advantage of the late victory it hath pleaſed God to give unto her, in the conflict with the Spaniſh navy, by keeping the King of Spain unable to redreſs and ſet up the like forces to diſquiet his neighbours withal; as ſhe doth mean for her part to do that, which her means may ſtretch unto, and occaſions ſhall require; ſo finding, by experience in theſe laſt preparations made by the ſaid King, that without ſuch helps of victuals, munition, and other neceſſaries, as he hath received out of other Princes' dominions, he had never been able to ſet out the late army, and namely, without great relief of victuals, ſpecially corn, out of divers parts of France; her Highneſs hath therefore willed me to direct you to move the French King, from her, and in her name, to make ſuch a general reſtraint, that no corn be tranſported out of any part of his dominions into Spain. Which as he may take a juſt colour to do, for the furniſhing of his army now ready to march into Poictou*; ſo do there not October 19.

* Againſt the Hugonots.

want

ELIZABETH. 1588.

want ſufficient reaſons to induce him to do it, as a matter beneficial as well unto himſelf as to others, if he ſhall conſider (as he hath been often heretofore put in mind thereof by her Majeſty's Miniſters, though with little fruit), how thoſe of the League, who have ſo long diſquieted his realm, and ſo often and inſolently done diſgrace to his own perſon, are maintained and ſupported in their actions by the King of Spain's purſe, and without him were not able to ſubſiſt. And further, how now of late the Duke of Savoy hath ſeized the Marquiſate of Saluſſes, which it is not to be thought he would have attempted, without aſſurance of the King of Spain's aſſiſtance, in maintaining his ſaid attempt, being no ways of himſelf able to bear out ſuch an action againſt a King of France. But if the King ſhall not be moved by theſe reaſons to yield unto the ſaid reſtraint, tending as it doth, as well to his own good as to her Majeſty's, ſhe ſhall have cauſe to think that the King doth not make that account of her friendſhip that he hath made ſhow of, and as ſhe doth merit, conſidering the honourable and friendly offers ſhe made unto him, at ſuch time as he was forced to retire out of Paris. Which, as ſhe hath already in part cauſe to think very evilly requited, in reſpect of the late ſpeedy delivery of the King of Spain's ordnance, taken in the Galleaſſe at Calais, and the ſhip at Newhaven; ſo, if the King ſhall refuſe her this requeſt, being for the common good, as well of them both as of all Chriſtendom, ſhe ſhall have a plain proof that he doth neither reſpect her amity, nor weigh his own eſtate, and the affairs of Chriſtendom, as appertaineth. And, as a further matter of unkindneſs, it is thought meet that the King ſhould be let underſtand, upon ſome apt occaſion to be taken by you, as of yourſelf, but not by direction, that her Majeſty hath reaſon to take it unkindly, that his Ambaſſador here, hath had no direction to congratulate the good ſucceſs ſhe hath had againſt the Spaniſh army, as in the like caſes is accuſtomed between Princes being in ſuch terms of amity, as the world taketh them to be.

ELIZABETH. 1588.

Her Majeſty's further pleaſure is, that you ſhould inquire very carefully, by all ſuch good means and inſtruments as you ſhall think meet, to learn how the King of Spain doth take the loſs his army hath ſuſtained, as well in the conflict, as otherwiſe by the hand of God; and whether he carry any diſpoſition to take a revenge thereof, or by what means. As, on the other ſide, her Highneſs's meaning is, to uſe the benefit of the victory, by the employing of Sir John Norris, and Sir Francis Drake, in ſuch ſort as this bearer ſhall declare unto you.

For the matters of Scotland, Sir Robert Sidney is of late returned, with a very good anſwer from the King, who giveth great aſſurance to maintain good amity with her Majeſty, and to ſtand conſtantly in the maintenance of the cauſe of the religion. The copies of the ſaid King's letters omitted in the laſt diſpatch, you ſhall receive herewith.

And ſo having nothing elſe for this time, I bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at St. James's, the 19th of October 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

SIR,

AFTER the ſigning of my other letter, I received advertiſement from a friend of mine at St. John de Luce, that there is great ſcarcity of corn in Spain this year; and that their hope is to be relieved out of France, without the which, they are like to endure great extremity. If the King there ſhall not aſſent unto a reſtraint, it is meant, that ſuch of our ſhips as lie upon the coaſt of Spain, ſhall impeach all thoſe that they ſhall find laden with grain, or any other kind of victual, from repairing thither, of what nation ſoever they be. October 20.

It were good the King were let know ſo much by way of diſcourſe. There is ſome information already made to thoſe of the Eaſt Countries,

ELIZABETH. 1588.

tries, that in caſe any of them ſhall be found upon the ſeas laden with corn, munition, or other warlike furniture, for Spain, they ſhall be held for good prize.

If it ſhall pleaſe God to bleſs Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, in their enterprizes, I hope all Chriſtendom ſhall receive good by it. And ſo, in haſte, I commit you to God.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

SIR,

Nov. 10. THE return of this bearer giveth me occaſion to acquaint you with ſuch things as have paſſed of late in our affairs. The Duke of Parma hath of late retired his ſiege from Bergen-op-zoom, finding the place ſo well provided, and thoſe within to make ſo good countenance, as he had no hope to win it without exceeding loſs. Himſelf is retired to Bruſſels, and his forces partly into garriſon, and partly, as we hear, are ſent into Spain, by direction from the King, doubting of ſome attempt to be made by her Majeſty upon Portugal.

To the end you may underſtand how things are between Scotland and us, I have ſent you a copy of Mr. Aſhby's letter, whereby you ſhall perceive what great proteſtation the King maketh of both his conſtancy in religion, and ſincerity in the amity of this crown.

I am informed that the French Ambaſſador here hath received order to ſtay here, and that his wife returneth to him, and that he is in hope that Villeroy ſhall be reſtored to the execution of his place, which giveth us occaſion to doubt, the Ambaſſador being known to be ſo greatly affected to thoſe of the League, and the Duke of Guiſe

enjoying the favour of the court, that the King will reſolve to run that courſe. But of theſe things we ſhall hear more certainty from you. And in the mean time I bid you heartily farewel. From the Court at Greenwich, the 10th of November 1588. ELIZABETH. 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

SIR,

THE Ambaſſador of France is greatly offended, that the King's requeſt for his repair into France is denied. To be plain with you, conſidering in what terms France now ſtandeth, and how the King ſeemeth to be affected towards her Majeſty, I ſee no reaſon but that ſhe might have aſſented thereunto. It is true, that your friends here, in reſpect of the peril that they doubt might have befallen to yourſelf, have prevailed ſo far (notwithſtanding her Majeſty did aſſent to his departure upon the firſt motion), as he is ſtaid, until there ſhall come ſome anſwer from you, touching the matter you have in charge to deliver unto the King about the ſaid Ambaſſador. Her Majeſty would have you uſe ſome diligence in returning anſwer to theſe letters, for that the Ambaſſador is marvellous importunate, and impatient, pretending that his utter undoing dependeth upon this ſtay. I wiſh, conſidering how ill affected he ſtandeth to this State, that ſome better-minded man were ſent hither to ſupply his place; but I doubt greatly of any change, for that ſuch as are employed in like charges, are ſo ill paid, as every man is glad to be exempted from public charges. Nov. 28.

Her Majeſty is very careful to receive particular information of the proceeding in Spain, and therefore I pray you be earneſt with

ELIZABETH. 1588.

your friend, from whom you receive your chief advertiſements from thoſe parts, to deal effectually with his correſpondent in Spain, to inform him frequently how things do paſs, as well both in court, as alſo of the maritime preparations in that realm.

There came advertiſement from Paris about ten days paſt, that the King of Spain was very ſick, and without hope of recovery; but becauſe it cometh not confirmed from you, we do not believe it here. It is hard to keep the death, or dangerous ſickneſs, of a Prince, long ſecret, and therefore it cannot be, if it had been true, but that the French King's Agent would have advertiſed thereof; the death of the ſaid King importing his Maſter ſo much as it doth. The Duke of Parma, ſince his repulſe received at Bergen, attempteth nothing, nor meaneth to do, before the next Spring, unleſs it be by way of ſurprize. And ſo do I commit you to God. From my houſe at the Savoy, the 28th of November, 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

Sir Francis Walſingham to Sir Edward Stafford.

SIR,

Dec. 10. THE principal cauſe of the diſpatch of this bearer groweth of the uſe I know you have of his ſervice there.

Her Majeſty reſteth very greatly contented with the King's friendly anſwer touching the reſtraint*; which if the ſame ſhall be duly performed, the King of Spain ſhall not be well able either to annoy us, or defend himſelf; for that realm hath already more people than they can well feed; and therefore, if he ſhall draw thither foreign forces, without the which that kingdom will not be well

* Of Corn.

defended,

defended, he ſhall more annoy his ſubjects there by famine, than the enemy by force. ELIZABETH. 1588.

It is greatly marvelled here, that the King doth put up ſo quietly the wrong done unto him by the Duke of Savoy. It is an unequal match when the Duke proceedeth with the cannon, and the King only with the uſe of meſſengers. If he take not a more reſolute and princely courſe in government (and that ſhortly), his kingdom will be cantoned in his own days.

There was never a more apt occaſion offered unto him to have been revenged of the heads of the League, than in the preſent aſſembly of the States, to have laid before them the miſerable and dangerous ſtate that France is caſt into, through their ambitious pretexts and deſigns, under the vizor of religion: and although perhaps there be many of the preſent aſſembly there, that ſtand affected toward them, yet no doubt of it, the generality, through the natural affection they bear to the preſervation of their country, would eaſily be drawn to take revenge, if they might find in the King a princely reſolution to go through with the matter.

The preſent diſeaſes of France will not be cured with that temporizing courſe that he now holdeth. For while he ſeeketh to recover a few towns, that are in the hands of thoſe of the League, he will hazard his whole kingdom. But I fear there hangeth a fatal deſtiny over that realm, which will not be avoided.

The conferring the government of upon Nemours doth breed a jealouſy, that the diſlike between the Guiſes and his partizans, and the King, is but a matter diſſembled; for who, ſay they, would give any countenance to that houſe, that is already grown to over great ſtrength, and that in reaſon ought to be diſcountenanced, or rather utterly to be overthrown. And ſo I recommend you to God. From the Court at Greenwich, 10th of December, 1588.

Your's, &c.

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

ELIZABETH. 1600-1.

No. XXII.

From a Copy in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.

Letter of Henry Cuffe, Secretary to Robert Earl of Eſſex, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, declaring the Effect of the Inſtructions framed by the Earl of Eſſex, and delivered to the Ambaſſador of the King of Scots, touching his title to the Crown of England, which letter was written after Cuffe's condemnation.

[Had this curious confeſſion of Cuffe's been known to that accurate and intelligent compiler Dr. Birch, it would have been inſerted in his Memoirs of Antony Bacon. From that excellent collection, we are as well acquainted with the Earl of Eſſex, and the Court of Queen Elizabeth, as if we had lived in it. Happy would it be for all Courts, if they reflected a little more on the figure they are to make in hiſtory. "Whatever may be ſaid of me, ſaid the 1ſt Duke of Ormond, I am reſolved to lie well in the Chronicle." Vide Carte, Vol. II.]

IT is now high time, that he, whom a public juſtice hath condemned *, and pronounced the child of wrath, ſhould, with the ſooneſt, lay aſide all cares of this life, reſerving himſelf only for that, which the only author of life hath honoured with this teſtimony, that *unum eſt neceſſarium.*

For the better attending whereof, and avoiding all future diſtractions, I have reſolved, of your Honour's commandment, to perform this laſt duty, by writing what of late I have often wiſhed to have tendered to your Honour by word of mouth.

* He was condemned the 5th of March 1600-1, and hanged at Tyburn on the 13th of that month, being then about forty years of age.

At

ELIZABETH. 1600-1.

At the time of my laſt examination in this houſe, it pleaſed your Honour to demand of me the ſum of thoſe inſtructions, which my late Lord and Maſter had made ready againſt the coming of the Scottiſh Ambaſſadors, whom he daily expected. Being at that time wholly poſſeſſed with exceeding grief, I could yield your Honour and the the reſt of their Lordſhips very ſmall ſatisfaction; in regard whereof I have ever ſince deſired ſome private acceſs to your honour, but being utterly out of hope of ſo great a favour, and being now called on by Mr. Lieutenant to perform my promiſe made unto your Honour at the time of my condemnation, I have thought it neceſſary to preſent to you the effect of thoſe inſtructions, obſerving, as far as my memory will ſerve me, the very words and method of the original itſelf.

Inſtructions for the Earl of Mar.

That the King his Maſter thought it neceſſary to beſeech her Majeſty to declare the right to the ſucceſſion of this Crown; not becauſe he obſerved in her Majeſty any want of princely favour and affection towards him; but becauſe he hath found, by infallible proof, that ſome very gracious with her Majeſty, being of extraordinary both power and malice, will not fail one day (if God prevent it not) to make their advantages of the uncertainty of ſucceſſion, not only to the prejudice, but alſo to the evident hazard and almoſt inevitable ruin of the whole iſland. For proof of their power there needeth no long diſcourſe, all means, in all parties and quarters of the realm being in a manner wholly in their hands.

In the Weſt, Sir Walter Raleigh commanding the uttermoſt province, where he may aſſiſt the Spaniards in their firſt invaſion, if that courſe be held fitteſt; being alſo Captain of the iſle of Jerſey, there to harbour them upon any fit occaſion.

In

ELIZABETH. 1600-1.

In the Eaſt, the Cinque Ports, which are the keys of this realm, are in the hands of Cobham; and likewiſe Kent, the next and directeſt way to the imperial city of this realm.

The treaſure, the ſinews of the ſtate, and the navy, the walls of the realm, being commanded by the Lord Treaſurer * and the Lord Admiral, both theſe great Officers of State, and the reſt abovenamed, being principally loved by the principal Secretary, Sir Robert Cecil, who, for the farther ſtrengthening of himſelf, hath eſtabliſhed his own brother the Lord Burleigh in the government of the north parts; and in the Preſidentſhip of Wales, now void, will undoubtedly place ſomebody, who ſhall undoubtedly acknowledge it of him; as likewiſe in Ireland he hath accordingly procured for Sir George Carew that province, which, above all others, is fitteſt for the Spaniſh deſign, in whoſe hands, if the commander himſelf may be believed, there is a greater army than he needeth. To omit, that the ſaid Sir George Carew is ſhortly in expectation to ſucceed in the government of that whole kingdom, upon the recalling of the now Lord Montjoy.

That their malice towards the King was no leſs than their power, it appeareth,

Firſt, That ſome of them had given direct proof of their ill affection by ill offices: and this point was left to the Ambaſſadors, becauſe the Earl of Eſſex was informed, that the King was able to procure clear evidence thereof.

Secondly, Becauſe all their counſels and endeavours tended to the advancement of the Infanta of Spain to the ſucceſſion of this crown; which point was confirmed by nine arguments.

1. Their continual and exceſſive commending of the Excellencies of the Infanta, and ſeeking, by all means, to breed both in her Majeſty, and in all others, an extraordinary good opinion of her.

2. The earneſt ſeeking to revive the treaty lately broken, notwithſtanding it was interrupted by the Spaniard, not without ſome diſadvantage offered to the Crown.

* Lord Buckhurſt. † Munſter.

3. The

ELIZABETH. 1600-1.

3. The ſpeech of the principal Counſellor (and, as I remember, he ſaid he meant it of your Honour) to an honourable Perſonage, that he knew there could no ſound peace be made betwixt us and Spain; yet for the better compaſſing of ſome purpoſes, he could be willing to entertain the treaty again.

4. The ſlack and eaſy hand, that hath been lately carried towards the prieſts of the jeſuitical faction, of all others the moſt pernicious; which can have no other interpretation, than that the Popiſh faction favouring the Infanta, which are as many as the Jeſuits can prevail with, might depend on them, as on their chief protectors.

5. The ſpeech of the Lord Treaſurer, who upon news that the Archduke was hurt, and, as ſome thought, ſlain, in the laſt year's battle at Newport, anſwered, that if he were ſlain, he thought her Majeſty had loſt one of her beſt friends.

7. The alteration of their proceeding with Alabaſter and one Rolſton, who have ever found more favour ſince they profeſſed themſelves of the Spaniſh faction.

Two more reaſons were there, which I cannot now call to mind.

Whether, among ſo many other matters of importance wherewith he lately acquainted your Honour, and the reſt of their Lordſhips, any of theſe reaſons and inſtructions were by him remembered, I know not; only, becauſe your Honour and their Lordſhips did, at that time, earneſtly preſs me to deliver ſome of them, I have endeavoured to give your Honour the beſt ſatisfaction I could, being verily perſuaded, that this abſtract, in ſenſe, very little differs from the firſt draught.

Of my own particular, being no leſs deſtitute of hope than comfort in this world, I dare ſay nothing; only I beſeech your Honour, let it not be thought preſumption to add thus much in general, that if the King of Kings thought it fit for his glory, where he found leaſt merit, to extend his greateſt grace, your Honour will account it no ſmall reſemblance of that divine pattern, if his Royal Lieutenants

ELIZABETH. 1600-1.

and their Miniſters upon earth, having laid proſtrate humble offenders at the feet of juſtice, ſhall be content to ſurrender up the ſword of juſtice into the hands of mercy.

Thus, moſt humbly beſeeching your Honour, to vouchſafe me your favourable opinion at my laſt farewell out of this miſerable world, I reſt,

Your Honour's moſt humble
and moſt diſtreſſed ſuppliant,
HENRY CUFFE.

No. XXIII.

No. XXIII.

Two letters of Sir Dudley Carleton (afterwrds Viſcount Dorcheſter), concerning Sir W. Raleigh's plot; incloſed in the following letter from Mr. Dudley Carleton, to Philip Lord Wharton.

From the Wharton Papers.

My noble Lord,

THE two letters incloſed are thoſe, of which, when I told your Lordſhip, you ſhewed yourſelf very deſirous to have ſight, and therefore I have ſent them to you. That Dudley Carleton, whoſe name you will find ſubſcribed to them, was my uncle, who died Secretary to his late Majeſty, who had likewiſe honoured him with the title of Viſcount Dorcheſter; and I ſuppoſe you knew him. He was, at the time he wrote them, Secretary to my Lord of Northumberland's father, and both an ear and eye witneſs of moſt that paſſed in the arraignment and execution at Wincheſter, in *anno* 1603. I wiſh they may ſerve your Lordſhip to ſuch uſe as you deſire; and if I could give you any farther light, I ſhould be moſt ready to ſerve you, as being

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

London,
Feb. 14th, 1651.

JAMES I. 1603.

Sir Dudley Carleton, to Mr. John Chamberlain.

SIR,

Nov. 27th. I WAS taking care how to ſend unto you, and little looked for ſo good a means as your man, who came to me this morning; and though he would in all haſte be gone, I have ſtayed him this night, to have time to diſcourſe unto you theſe tragical proceedings.

I was not preſent at the firſt or ſecond arraignment, wherein Brooke, Markham, Brookeſby, Copley, and the two Prieſts were condemned, for practiſing the ſurprize of the King's perſon, the taking of the Tower, the depoſing of Counſellors, and proclaiming liberty of religion. They were all condemned upon their own confeſſions, which were ſet down under their own hands, as declarations; and compiled with ſuch labour and care, to make the matter they undertook ſeem very feaſible, as if they had feared they ſhould not ſay enough to hang themſelves. Pirra was acquitted, being only drawn in by the Prieſts as an aſſiſtant, without knowing the purpoſe; yet had he gone the ſame way as the reſt (as it is thought), ſave for a word the Lord Cecil caſt in the way as his cauſe was in handling, that the King's glory conſiſted as much in freeing the innocent, as condemning the guilty.

The Commiſſioners for this trial were, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord of Devon, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Cecil, Lord Wotton, the Vice Chamberlain, the two Chief Juſtices, Juſtice Gawdy, and and Warburton. Of the King's Council, none were employed in that, or the arraignment, but the Attorney *, Heale, and Philips; and in effect, none but the Attorney. Sir Walter Raleigh ſerved for a whole act, and played all the parts himſelf. His cauſe was diſ-

* Coke.

joined

joined from the Prieſts, as being a practice only between himſelf and the Lord Cobham, to have brought in the Spaniard, to have raiſed rebellion in the realm, by faſtening money upon diſcontents, to have ſet up the Lady Arabella, and to have tied her to certain conditions; as to have a perpetual peace with Spain; not to have beſtowed herſelf in marriage but at the direction of the Spaniard; and to have granted liberty of religion. The evidence againſt him, was only Cobham's confeſſion, which was judged ſufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accuſed Raleigh as the firſt practiſer of the treaſon betwixt them; which ſerved to turn againſt him; though he ſhewed, to countervail this, a letter written by Cobham, and delivered to him in the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitted. After ſentence given, his requeſt was, to have his anſwers related to the King, and pardon begged; of which, if there were no hope, then that Cobham might die firſt. He anſwered with that temper, wit, learning, courage and judgment, that ſave that it went with the hazard of his life, it was the happieſt day that ever he ſpent. And ſo well he ſhifted all advantages that were taken againſt him, that were not *fama malum gravius quam res*, and an ill name half hanged, in the opinion of all men, he had been acquitted. JAMES I. 1603.

The two firſt that brought the news to the King, were Roger Aſhton and a Scotchman; whereof one affirmed, that never any man ſpoke ſo well in times paſt, nor would do in the world to come; and the other ſaid, that whereas when he ſaw him firſt, he was ſo led with the common hatred, that he would have gone a hundred miles to have ſeen him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thouſand to have ſaved his life. In one word, never was man ſo hated, and ſo popular, in ſo ſhort a time. It was thought the Lords ſhould have been arraigned on Tueſday laſt, but they were put off till Friday and Saturday; and had their trials apart before the Lord Chancellor * (as Lord Steward for both thoſe days), eleven Earls, nineteen

* Elleſmere.

JAMES I. 1603.

Barons. The Duke *, the Earl of Marr, and many Scottiſh Lords ſtood as ſpectators; and of our Ladies, the greateſt part, as the Lady Nottingham, the Lady Suffolk, and the Lady Arabella, who heard herſelf much ſpoken of theſe days. But, the arraignment before, ſhe was more particularly remembered, as by Sir Walter Raleigh, for a woman, with whom he had no acquaintance, and one, whom, of all that he ever ſaw, he never liked; and by Serjeant Hale, as one that had no more right to the Crown than himſelf; and for any claim that he had to it, he utterly diſavowed it. Cobham led the way on Friday, and made ſuch a faſting day's piece of work of it, that he diſcredited the place to which he was called; never was ſeen ſo poor and abject a ſpirit. He heard his indictment with much fear and trembling, and would ſometimes interrupt it, by forſwearing what he thought to be wrongly inſerted; ſo as, by his faſhion, it was known ere he ſpake, what he would confeſs or deny. In his firſt anſwer, he ſaid, he had changed his mind ſince he came to the bar; for whereas he came with an intention to have made his confeſſion, without denying any thing, now ſeeing many things inſerted in this indictment with which he could not be charged, being not able in one word to make diſtinction of many parts, he muſt plead to all *not guilty*. For any thing that belonged to the Lady Arabella, he denied the whole accuſation; only ſaid, ſhe had ſought his friendſhip, and his brother Brooke had ſought her's. For the other purpoſes, he ſaid, he had hammered in his brains ſome ſuch imaginations; but never had purpoſe to bring them to effect. Upon Raleigh, he exclaimed as one who had ſtirred him up to diſcontent, and thereby overthrown his fortunes. Againſt him he ſaid, that he had once propounded to him a means for the Spaniard to invade England, which was, to bring down an army to the Groyne, under pretence to ſend them into the Low Countries, and land them at Milford Haven:

* Of Lenox, then the only one of that degree.

that

that he had made himſelf a penſioner to Spain for 1500 crowns by the year, to give intelligence; and, for an earneſt of his diligence, had already related to the Count D'Aremberg, the particularities of what paſſed in the States audiences at Greenwich. His brother's confeſſion was read againſt him, wherein he accuſed him of a contract made with Aremberg for 500,000 crowns to beſtow amongſt diſcontents, whereof Raleigh was to have had 10,000, Grey as much, and Brooke 1000; the reſt, as they ſhould find fit men to beſtow it on. He excepted againſt his brother as an incompetent accuſer, baptizing him with the name of a viper; and laid to his charge (though far from the purpoſe) the getting of his wife's ſiſter with child; in which it is thought he did young Coppinger ſome wrong. JAMES I. 1603.

A letter was produced which he wrote to Aremberg for ſo much money; and Aremberg's anſwer, conſenting for the furniſhing of that ſum. He then flew to his former retreat, that in this likewiſe he had no ill meaning, and excuſed Aremberg as one that meant only thereby to further the peace. When particularities were farther urged, that, in his intended travel, he meant to have gone into the Low Countries to the Archduke; from thence into Savoy; ſo into Spain; then have returned by Jerſey; and there to have met Raleigh, and to have brought ſome money from the Well Spring, where it was to be had, he confeſſed imaginations, but no purpoſes; and ſtill laid the fault upon his own weakneſſes, in that he ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by Raleigh. Being aſked of his two letters to different purpoſes, the one excuſing, the other condemning Raleigh; he ſaid, the laſt was true, but the other was drawn from him by device in the Tower, by young Harvey the Lieutenant's ſon, whom Raleigh had corrupted, and carried intelligence betwixt them (for which he is there committed, and is likely to be arraigned at the King's Bench). Having thus accuſed all his friends, and ſo little excuſed himſelf, the Peers were not long in deliberation what to judge; and after ſentence of condemnation given, he begged a great while for life and

favour,

JAMES I. 1603.

favour, alleging his confeſſion as a meritorious act. Grey, quite in another key, began with great aſſurances and alacrity; ſpake a long and eloquent ſpeech, firſt to the Lords, and then to the Judges, and laſtly to the King's Council; and told them well of their charges, and ſpake effectually for himſelf. He held them the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in ſubtle traverſes and ſcapes; but the evidence was too perſpicuous, both by Brooke's and Markham's confeſſions, that he was acquainted with the ſurprize*; yet the Lords were long ere they could all agree, and loth to come out with ſo hard cenſure againſt him. For though he had ſome heavy enemies, as his old antagoniſt, who was mute before his face, but ſpake within very unnobly againſt him; yet moſt of them ſtrove with themſelves, and would fain (as it ſeemed) have diſpenſed with their conſciences to have ſhewed him favour. At the pronouncing of the opinion of the Lords, and the demand whether he had any thing to ſay why ſentence of death ſhould not be given againſt him, theſe only were his words, "I have nothing to ſay;" there he pauſed long; "and yet a word of Tacitus comes in my "mind, *Non eadem omnibus decora:* the houſe of the Wiltons had "ſpent many lives in their Prince's ſervice, and Grey cannot beg his. "God ſend the King a long and proſperous reign, and to your "Lordſhips all honour."

After ſentence given, he only deſired to have one Travers †, a Divine, ſent for to come to him, if he might live two days. If he were to die before that, then he might have one Field, whom he thought to be near. There was great compaſſion had of this gallant young Lord; for ſo clear and fiery a ſpirit had not been ſeen by any that had been preſent at like trials. Yet the Lord Steward condemned his manner much, terming it Lucifer's pride, and preached much humiliation; and the Judges liked him as little, becauſe he

* Of the Court. † A Puritan, the antagoniſt of Hooker.

diſputed with them againſt their laws. We cannot yet judge what will become of him or the reſt; for all are not like to go one way. Cobham is of the ſureſt ſide, for he is thought leaſt dangerous, and the Lord Cecil undertakes to be his friend. They ſay the prieſts ſhall lead the dance to-morrow; and Brooke next after; for he proves to be the knot that tied together the three conſpiracies; the reſt hang indifferent betwixt mercy and juſtice, wherein the King hath now ſubject to practiſe himſelf. The Lords are moſt of them returned to the court. The Lord Chancellor and Treaſurer remain here till Tueſday, to ſhut up the term. My Lord goeth from hence to Petworth; but I pick quarrel to ſtay behind, to ſee an end of theſe matters. The Court is like to Chriſtmas at Windſor; and many plays and ſhews are beſpoken, to give entertainment to our Ambaſſadors.

The French King doth winter at Fountainbleau, and is fallen into a new delight of the Italian comedians, of which I ſend you a conceit put upon Monſieur Roſny. The Queen is there made *Chef du Conſeil*, and grows very expert in diſpatch of affairs. The Marquis is quite retired from Court. Roſny and Soiſſons go up and down like two buckets; for they are not ſo reconciled, but as one comes to the court, the other is ever going away. They ſay, we ſhall have here from thence, ere long, Mr. Zamet*; I know not to what other purpoſe, unleſs it be to teach us to make good ſauce, and to ſhow their variety of excellent men in all crafts. The Marquis de Luttin, Ambaſſador of the Duke of Savoy, is at Bruſſels, and ſo far on his way hitherwards. The Grand Chaoux is arrived at the French court, and will likewiſe come hither to congratulate with our King from the Turk. The Venetian Ambaſſadors had audience at court on Sunday laſt. They were brought from Southampton to Saliſbury, by Mr. Allen Percy, with two of the King's coaches, and four pad horſes, and were welcomed with the fouleſt day that came

* A French financier, gameſter, and *bon vivant*. Henry IV. often eat with him.

this

JAMES I. 1603.

this year; and at night (as they came late), found but ſeven beds prepared for ſeven ſcore. The day they were had to their audience, there was an embargo of coaches before the court gate, to bring them thither; but as ſoon as they were arrived, every man departed with his own coaches, for fear of the like arreſt; ſo as the greateſt part of them were forced to go home on foot, and ſome of the beſt ſort to ſtay till midnight, for the return of their coaches. The knaviſh Frenchmen laugh at their diſorders, and ſay they are ſerved like right Pantaloons; but they deſerve to be better ſtiled, for they are come in beſt ſhew and faſhion of any I ſaw yet; and do all things with as great magnificency. As to their Captain that wafted them over, they gave forty crowns, beſides petty preſents; whereas the Spaniſh Ambaſſador gave Sir Robert Mansfield a leather jerkin, and the Count D' Aremberg, a Parmeſan cheeſe.

A fortnight ſince, there was a petty Ambaſſador at Court, from the State of Stade, who came when no man looked for him; and took the King as he found him, preſently after ſermon, and in the open preſence ſet upon him with a long Latin oration. The King made him no long anſwer; but gave the honour of entertaining him to Secretary Herbert*. The Agent of Geneva hath obtained a collection to be made in all the churches of England and Scotland, for the ſpace of three months; his Maſters, in the mean time, have fairly ſcaped another ſurprize on a Sunday as they were at ſervice. The ſiege of Bolduc is raiſed, and the two Generals retired to Bruſſels and the Hague. I ſend you a letter I received from Mr. Winwood, of this Summer's ſervice in thoſe parts; wherein I think you will marvel, as well as I, that the States are grown ſo curſt hearted to give away Grave, becauſe they cannot take Bolduc. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador hath been with the King to expoſtulate ſome words he heard to be ſpoken at theſe arraignments, in prejudice of his Maſter;

* Called ſecond Secretary, but the buſineſs was engroſſed by Cecil.

and

and to pleaſe him, the Attorney took occaſion to make an open apology. The laſt week he feaſted the French Ambaſſador's * wife, with many of our ladies; and had muſic and dancing; at which the French Ambaſſador and he were at half falling out, who ſhould lead the dance. They all returned very ill ſatisfied, for cheer or entertainment. JAMES I. 1603.

The French Ambaſſador, at his laſt audience, brought his companion D'Auval, to take his leave; who is gone for good and all. The King knighted him, and gave him a jewel of 150 crowns.

Our Ambaſſador in France † (they ſay) is buſy in making a new French grammar and dictionary. One Walton, a man of his, that has remained with him ever ſince his going over, is turned Monk, and hath put himſelf into a cloiſter at Compiegne.

Fitzherbert, whom he took into my place, is come over hither to ſeek a new fortune. Out of Ireland, here are come many captains and caſhiered officers, with their pockets full of braſs, and ſue to have it made good ſilver; but the Lord Treaſurer's ſkill is not that of alchymy. The coffers are ſo empty, that houſehold officers are unpaid, and the penſioners and guard are ready to mutiny. There was, a fortnight ſince, near Saliſbury, a deſperate combat, betwixt Douglas the Maſter of the King's Horſe, and Lee, brother to the Avenor; who began their quarrel at Windſor. Douglas was left dead in the field, with three hurts, and was buried three days after in Saliſbury church, with a kind of ſolemnity, at which the Duke, the Scottiſh Lords, and all other Scot and Lot were preſent. Lee was hurt in four places; but lives, and is like to eſcape. He is not much followed by the Scots, becauſe they hold there was fair play between them. The younger Douglas has his brother's place, which doth ſomewhat help to appeaſe the quarrel. Sir Thomas Germyn hath got the reverſion of Jerſey, after Sir John Painton.

* Mr. de Beaumont, a punctilious character. † Sir Thomas Parry.

JAMES I. 1603.

Sir Philip Herbert and Sir James Hayes have got betwixt them a grant of Tranſport of Cloths, worth 10,000 l. at the leaſt. I do call to mind a pretty ſecret, that the Lady of Pembroke hath written to her ſon Philip, and charged him, of all her bleſſings, to employ his own credit, his friend's, and all he can do, for Raleigh's pardon; and though ſhe does little good, yet ſhe is to be commended for doing her beſt, in ſhewing *veteris veſtigia flammæ*. And thus being come round where I began, it is time to leave you, deſiring you to excuſe me to my couſin Sir Rowland Litton, for not writing; and ſo you well may, for you have enough for yourſelf and all my kindred and friends, to make you all weary. My brother Carleton and brother Williams are both here, and have left all well from whence they came; ſave only the little gentlewoman in Northamptonſhire; who is ſo woe-begone for lack of good company, that ſhe thinks the plague in London would not have hurt her ſo much, as melancholy in the country. I ſupped this night with Sir Henry Fanſhaw, where you were kindly remembered. Sir Walter Cope is in this town, and Sir Hugh Beſton likewiſe, who often aſks for you as your friend, and therefore you are the more to lament that he is untimely come to a night-cap. Many marvel at his ſudden breaking, but moſt aſcribe it to a thought he took at a word which Sir Walter Raleigh ſpoke at his examinations; who aſked if Sir Hugh Beſton was not apprehended and tortured, becauſe he was always of his chiefeſt council. I ſhall never end, unleſs I abruptly bid you farewel.

From Wincheſter, the 27th of November, 1603.

Your's, &c.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

The

JAMES I. 1603.

The Same to the Same.

SIR,

I KNOW not when or how to ſend to you; yet here happening an accident worth your knowledge, I cannot but put it in record, whilſt the memory of it is freſh; and for the reſt, ſtand to the venture. But becauſe I have taken a time of good leiſure, and it is likely this letter will take his leiſure, ere it come at you; I may as well leap in where I left, when I wrote to you by your man, and proceed in an order by narration; ſince this was a part of the ſame play, and that other acts came betwixt, to make up a tragical comedy. December 11.

The two Prieſts that led the way to the execution, were very bloodily handled; for they were both cut down alive; and Clarke, to whom more favour was intended, had the worſe luck; for he both ſtrove to help himſelf, and ſpake after he was cut down. They died boldly, both; and Watſon (as he would have it ſeem) willing; wiſhing he had more lives to ſpend, and one to loſe, for every man he had by his treachery drawn into this treaſon. Clarke ſtood ſomewhat upon his juſtification, and thought he had hard meaſure; but imputed it to his function, and therefore thought his death meritorious, as a kind of martyrdom. Their quarters were ſet on Wincheſter gates, and their heads on the firſt tower of the caſtle. Brooke was beheaded in the Caſtle-yard, on Monday laſt; and to double his grief, had St. Croftes in his ſight, from the ſcaffold, which drove him firſt to diſcontent *. There was no greater aſſembly than I have ſeen at ordinary executions; nor no man of quality more than the Lord of Arundel and young Somerſet; only the Biſhop of Chicheſter, who was ſent from the Court two days before, to prepare him to his end, could not get looſe from him; but, by

* Miſſing, I ſuppoſe, the Maſterſhip.

JAMES I. 1603.

Brooke's earneſt entreaty was fain to accompany him to the ſcaffold, and ſerve for his ghoſtly father. He died conſtantly (and, to ſeeming, religiouſly); ſpake not much; but what he ſaid was well and aſſured. He did ſomewhat extenuate his offences, both in the treaſons, and the courſe of his life; naming theſe rather errors than capital crimes; and his former faults, ſins; but not ſo heinous as they were traduced; which he referred to the God of Truth and time to diſcover; and ſo left it, as if ſomewhat lay yet hid, which would one day appear for his juſtification. The Biſhop went from him to the Lord Cobham; and, at the ſame time, the Biſhop of Wincheſter was with Raleigh; both by expreſs order from the King; as well to prepare them for their ends, as likewiſe to bring them to liberal confeſſions, and by that means reconcile the contradictions of the one's open accuſation, and the other's peremptory denial. The Biſhop of Chicheſter had ſoon done what he came for, finding in Cobham a willingneſs to die, and readineſs to die well; with purpoſe at his death to affirm as much as he had ſaid againſt Raleigh; but the other Biſhop had more to do with his charge; for though, for his conſcience, he found him well ſettled, and reſolved to die a Chriſtian, and a good Proteſtant, for the point of confeſſion, he found him ſo ſtrait-laced, that he would yield to no part of Cobham's accuſation; only, the penſion, he ſaid, was once mentioned, but never proceeded in. Grey, in the mean time, with his miniſter Field, having had the like ſummons for death, ſpent his time in great devotions; but with that careleſs regard of that, with which he was threatened, that he was obſerved neither to eat or ſleep the worſe, or be any ways diſtracted from his accuſtomed faſhions. Markham was told he ſhould likewiſe die; but by ſecret meſſage from ſome friends at Court, had ſtill ſuch hope given him, that he would not believe the worſt news till the laſt day; and though he could be content to talk with the preacher which was aſſigned him, it was rather to paſs time, than for any good purpoſe; for

for he was catholickly diſpoſed; to think of death no way diſpoſed. Whilſt theſe men were ſo occupied at Wincheſter, there was no ſmall doings about them at Court, for life or death; ſome puſhing at the wheel one way, ſome another. The Lords of the Council joined in opinion and advice to the King, now in the beginning of his reign, to ſhew as well examples of mercy as ſeverity, and to gain the title of *Clemens*, as well as *Juſtus*; but ſome others, led by their private ſpleen and paſſions, drew as hard the other way; and Patrick Galloway, in his ſermon on Tueſday, preached ſo hotly againſt remiſſneſs and moderation of juſtice, in the head of juſtice, as if it were one of the ſeven deadly ſins. The King held himſelf upright betwixt two waters; and firſt, let the Lords know, that ſince the law had paſſed upon the priſoners, and that they themſelves had been their judges, it became not them to be petitioners for that, but rather to preſs for execution of their own ordinances; and to others, gave as good reaſons, to let them know that he would go no whit the faſter for their driving; but would be led as his own judgment and affections would move him; but ſeemed rather to lean to this ſide than the other, by the care he took to have the law take his courſe, and the execution haſted.

Warrants were ſigned, and ſent to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, on Wedneſday laſt at night, for Markham, Grey, and Cobham, who in this order were to take their turns, as yeſterday, being Friday, about ten of the clock. A fouler day could hardly have been picked out, or fitter for ſuch a tragedy. Markham being brought to the ſcaffold, was much diſmayed, and complained much of his hard hap, to be deluded with hopes, and brought to that place unprepared. One might ſee in his face the very picture of ſorrow; but he ſeemed not to want reſolution; for a napkin being offered by a friend that ſtood by, to cover his face, he threw it away, ſaying, he could look upon death without bluſhing. He took leave of ſome friends that ſtood near, and betook himſelf to his devotions, after his manner; and

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JAMES I. 1603.

thoſe ended, prepared himſelf to the block. The Sheriff, in the mean time, was ſecretly withdrawn, by one John Gib, a Scotch Groom of the Bedchamber; whereupon the execution was ſtayed, and Markham left upon the ſcaffold to entertain his own thoughts, which, no doubt, were as melancholy as his countenance, ſad and heavy. The Sheriff, at his return, told him, that ſince he was ſo ill prepared, he ſhould yet have two hours reſpite, ſo led him from the ſcaffold, without giving him any more comfort, and locked him into the great hall, to walk with Prince Arthur. The Lord Grey, whoſe turn was next, was led to the ſcaffold by a troop of the young courtiers, and was ſupported on both ſides by two of his beſt friends; and coming in this equipage, had ſuch gaiety and cheer in his countenance, that he ſeemed a dapper young bridegroom. At his firſt coming on the ſcaffold, he fell on his knees, and his preacher made a long prayer to the preſent purpoſe, which he ſeconded himſelf with one of his own making, which, for the phraſe, was ſomewhat affected, and ſuited to his other ſpeeches; but, for the faſhion, expreſſed the fervency and zeal of a religious ſpirit. In his confeſſion, he ſaid, though God knew this fault of his was far from the greateſt, yet he knew, and could but acknowledge his heart to be faulty; for which he aſked pardon of the King; and thereupon entered into a long prayer for the King's good eſtate, which held us in the rain more than half an hour; but being come to a full point, the Sheriff ſtayed him, and ſaid, he had received orders from the King, to change the order of the execution, and that the Lord Cobham was to go before him; whereupon he was likewiſe led to Prince Arthur's hall, and his going away ſeemed more ſtrange unto him, than his coming thither; for he had no more hope given him, than of an hour's reſpite; neither could any man yet dive into the myſtery of this ſtrange proceeding.

The Lord Cobham, who was now to play his part, and by his former actions promiſed nothing but *matière pour rire*, did much

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cozen the world; for he came to the ſcaffold with good aſſurance, and contempt of death. He ſaid ſome ſhort prayers after his Miniſter, and ſo outprayed the company that helped to pray with him, that a ſtander-by ſaid, *he had a good mouth in a cry, but was nothing ſingle.* Some few words he uſed, to expreſs his ſorrow for his offence to the King, and craved pardon of him and the world; for Sir Walter Raleigh, he took it, upon the hope of his ſoul's reſurrection, that what he had ſaid of him was true; and with thoſe words would have taken a ſhort farewel of the world, with that conſtancy and boldneſs, that we might ſee by him, it is an eaſier matter to die well than live well. JAMES I. 1603.

He was ſtayed by the Sheriff, and told, that there reſteth yet ſomewhat elſe to be done; for that he was to be confronted with ſome other of the priſoners, but named none. So as Grey and Markham being brought back to the ſcaffold, as they then were, but nothing acquainted with what had paſſed, no more than the lookers-on with what ſhould follow, looked ſtrange one upon the other, like men beheaded, and met again in the other world. Now all the actors being together on the ſtage (as uſe is at the end of a play), the Sheriff made a ſhort ſpeech unto them, by way of the interrogatory of the heinouſneſs of their offences, the juſtneſs of their trials, their lawful condemnation, and due execution there to be performed; to all which they aſſented; then, ſaith the Sheriff, ſee the mercy of your Prince, who, of himſelf, hath ſent hither a countermand, and given you your lives. There was then no need to beg a *plaudite* of the audience, for it was given with ſuch hues and cries, that it went from the caſtle into the town, and there began afreſh, as if there had been ſome ſuch like accident. And this experience was made of the difference of examples of juſtice and mercy; that in this laſt, no man could cry loud enough, *God ſave the King*; and at the holding up of Brookes's head, when the executioner began the ſame cry, he was not ſeconded by the voice of any one man, but the Sheriff. You

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JAMES I. 1603.

muſt think, if the ſpectators were ſo glad, the actors were not ſorry; for even thoſe that went beſt reſolved to death, were glad of life. Cobham vowed openly, if ever he proved traitor again, never ſo much as to beg his life; and Grey, that ſince he had his life, without begging, he would deſerve it. Markham returned with a merrier countenance than he came to the ſcaffold. Raleigh, you muſt think (who had a window opened that way), had hammers working in his head, to beat out the meaning of this ſtratagem. His turn was to come on Monday next; but the King has pardoned him with the reſt, and confined him with the two Lords to the Tower of London, there to remain during pleaſure. Markham, Brookſby and Copley, are to be baniſhed the realm. This reſolution was taken by the King without man's help, and no man can rob him of the praiſe of yeſterday's action; for the Lords knew no other, but that execution was to go forward, till the very hour it ſhould be performed; and then, calling them before him, he told them, how much he had been troubled to reſolve in this buſineſs; for to execute Grey, who was a noble, young, ſpirited fellow, and ſave Cobham, who was as baſe and unworthy, were a manner of injuſtice. To ſave Grey, who was of a proud inſolent nature, and execute Cobham, who had ſhewed great tokens of humility and repentance, were as great a ſoleciſm; and ſo went on with Plutarch's compariſons in the reſt, till travelling in contrarieties, but holding the concluſion in ſo indifferent balance, that the Lords knew not what to look for till the end came out, *and therefore I have ſaved them all.* The miracle was as great there, as with us at Wincheſter, and it took like effect; for the applauſe that began about the King, went from thence into the preſence, and ſo round about the Court.

I ſend you a copy of the King's letter, which was privately written the Wedneſday night, and the meſſenger diſpatched the Thurſday about noon. But one thing had like to have marred the play; for the letter was cloſed, and delivered him unſigned; which the King remembered

remembered himſelf, and called for him back again. And at Winchester, there was another croſs adventure; for John Gib could not get ſo near the ſcaffold, that he could ſpeak to the Sheriff, but was thruſt out amongſt the boys, and was fain to call out to Sir James Hayes, or elſe Markham mig t have loſt his neck. There were other by-paſſages, if I could readily call them to mind; but here is enough already for *un petit mot de lettre*, and therefore I bid you heartily farewel. From Saliſbury this 11th of December 1603*.

Your's, &c.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

* There are in the Saliſbury Collection, ſeveral letters from theſe priſoners during their confinement, which probably would throw light on their reſpective caſes, if they were publiſhed.

JAMES I. 1614.

No. XXIV.

Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton at Turin.

My very good Lord,

From the Paper Office. 1614. March 15th.

I AM newly returned from Cambridge, whither I went ſome two days after I wrote you my laſt. The King made his entry there the 7th of this preſent, with as much ſolemnity and concourſe of gallants and great men, as the hard weather and extreme foul ways would permit. The Prince came along with him, but not the Queen, by reaſon (as it is ſaid) that ſhe was not invited; which error is rather imputed to their Chancellor, than to the ſcholars, that underſtand not theſe courſes. Another defect was, that there were no Ambaſſadors, which no doubt was upon the ſame reaſon; but the abſence of women may be the better excuſed for default of language, there being few or none preſent, but of the Howards, or that alliance; as the Counteſs of Arundel, with her ſiſter, the Lady Elizabeth Grey; the Counteſs of Suffolk, with her daughters of Saliſbury and Somerſet; the Lady Walden and Henry Howard's wife; which were all that I remember. The Lord Treaſurer kept there a very great port and magnificent table, with the expence of a thouſand pounds a day, as is ſaid; but that ſeems too large an allowance; but ſure his proviſions were very great, beſides plenty of preſents; and may be in ſome ſort eſtimated by his proportion of wine, whereof he ſpent twenty-ſix tun in five days. He lodged and kept his table at St. John's college; but his Lady and her retinue at Magdalen College, whereof his grandfather Audley was founder. The King and Prince lay at Trinity College, where the plays were repreſented; and the hall ſo well ordered for room, that above 2000 perſons were conveniently placed. The firſt night's entertainment was a comedy, and acted by St. John's men, the chief part conſiſting of a counterfeit Sir Edward Ratcliffe, a fooliſh tutor of phyſic; which proved

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but a lean argument; and though it were larded with pretty ſhews at the beginning and end, and with ſomewhat too broad ſpeech for ſuch a preſence, yet it was ſtill dry. The ſecond night was a comedy of Clare Hall, with the help of two or three good actors from other houſes, wherein David Drummond in a hobby horſe, and Brakin the recorder of the town, under the name of Ignoramus, a common lawyer, bare great parts. The thing was full of mirth and variety, with many excellent actors (among whom the Lord Compton's ſon, though leaſt, was not worſt), but more than half marred with extreme length. The third night was an Engliſh comedy, called Albumazar, of Trinity College's action and invention; but there was no great matter in it, more than one good Clown's part. The laſt night was a Latin Paſtoral of the ſame houſe, excellently written, and as well acted, which gave great contentment, as well to the King, as to the reſt. Now this being the ſtate of their plays, their acts and diſputations fell out much after the ſame manner; for the divinity act was performed reaſonably well, but not anſwerable to the expectation; the law and phyſic acts ſtark naught; but the philoſophy act made amends, and indeed was very excellent; inſomuch that the ſame day, the Biſhop of Ely ſent the moderator, the anſwerer, the varier or prevaricator, and one of the repliers, that were all of his houſe, twenty angels a piece. Now, for orations and *conſcios ad clerum*, I heard not many; but thoſe I did, were extraordinary; and the better, for that they were ſhort. The univerſity orator, Netherſole, though he be a proper man, and think well of himſelf, yet he is taxed for calling the Prince *Jacobiſſime Carole*; and ſome will needs add, that he called him *Jacobule* too; which neither pleaſed the King nor any body elſe. But ſure the King was exceedingly pleaſed many times, both at the plays and diſputations; for I had the hap to be, for moſt part, within hearing; and often at his meals he would expreſs as much. He viſited all the colleges ſave two or three, and commends them beyond

JAMES I. 1614.

JAMES I. 1614. Oxford, yet I am not ſo partial, but therein I muſt crave pardon not to be of his opinion. Though I endured a great deal of penance by the way for this little pleaſure, yet I would not have miſſed it, for that I ſee thereby the partiality of both ſides; the Cambridge men pleaſing and applauding themſelves in all, and the Oxford men as faſt condemning and detracting all that was done; wherein yet I commended Corbet's modeſty whilſt he was there; who being ſeriouſly dealt withal by ſome friends to ſay what he thought, anſwered, that he had left his malice and judgment at home, and came thither only to commend.

Paul Tomſon the gold-clipper hath his pardon, and not only ſo, but is abſolved *a pœna et culpa*, whereby he keeps his livings, and never came to trial; and I heard he had the face to appear in the town, whilſt the King was there.

Sir Arthur Ingram is, in a ſort, *deſurranné*, for Sir Marmaduke Dorrell is appointed to keep the table, and diſpatch the buſineſs of the cofferer, and he only to retain the name till Michaelmas, that the accompts may be made up, and in the mean time order taken, that he may be reimburſed of ſuch monies as he hath lawfully laid out, or can challenge in this cauſe.

Old Sir John Cutts is lately dead, and here is ſuch a ſpeech of the Lord Roſſe, but there is no great credit given to it, becauſe it comes only out of the Low Countries. Your nephew Carleton is arreſted with the ſmall-pox, which hindered his journey to Cambridge.

I had almoſt forgotten, that almoſt all the Courtiers went forth Maſters of Arts, at the King's being there; but few or no Doctors, ſave only Younge, which was done by a mandate, being ſon to Sir Peter, the King's ſchool-maſter. The Vice Chancellor and univerſity were exceeding ſtrict in that point, and refuſed many importunities of great men, among whom was Mr. Secretary, that made great means for Mr. Weſtfield; but it would not be; neither the King's intreaty for John Dun would prevail; yet they are threatened with

with a mandate, which, if it come, it is like they will obey; but they are reſolved to give him ſuch a blow withal, that he were better be without it. Indeed the Biſhop of Chicheſter, Vice Chancellor, hath been very ſtiff, and carried himſelf very peremptory that way, wherein he is not much to be blamed, being a matter of more conſequence than at firſt was imagined. He did his part every way, as well in moderating the Divinity Act, as in taking great pains in all other things, and keeping exceeding great cheer. JAMES I. 1614.

I have here ſent you the queſtions in brief, for otherwiſe they would bear too great a bulk. And ſo I commend you to the protection of the Almighty. From London the 16th of March 1614.

Your Lordſhip's to command,

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

JAMES I. 1617.

No. XXV.

From a copy taken by Mr. Sawyer, editor of Winwood's Memoirs.

The Earl of Buckingham to Mr. Secretary Winwood.

[Sir Walter Raleigh accuſed King James of having diſcloſed the whole deſign of his voyage to Gundomar. How far the following letter confirms this charge, is left to the reader's judgment. Winwood, who was a great enemy to the Spaniſh intereſt, muſt have executed this commiſſion with reluctance.]

SIR,

I HAVE acquainted his Majeſty with your letter, and that which came incloſed from Sir Henry Wotton, of whoſe opinion his Majeſty is, touching the advertiſement given therein, that this diſcovery is like to unite the Duke and the Venetian cloſer together, and bring on better conditions for a peace with Spain. His Majeſty perceiveth by a letter he hath received from the Spaniſh Ambaſſador, that you have not been yet with him to acquaint him with the order taken by his Majeſty about Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage; and therefore would have you go to him as ſoon as you can poſſible, to relate unto him particularly his Majeſty's care of that buſineſs, and the courſe he hath taken therein. And ſo I reſt

Your very loving friend,

BUCKINGHAM.

Lincoln,
March 28th, 1617.

No. XXVI.

Papers relative to the Spaniſh Match.

From the Harleian MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum.

[The *Pro* and the *Con* about the Spaniſh Match, has been ſufficiciently diſcuſſed by the Hiſtorians. The letters that now follow, will throw additional lights on that impolitic tranſaction, and on the characters of a doating Monarch, an unexperienced heir apparent, and a favourite, intoxicated not only by his power, but by the familiarity in which he lived with his Royal Maſters. It is ſufficient to add, that the Spaniſh Court at laſt were ſincere and earneſt for the Match; that it was broke off, in no very handſome manner, by the Engliſh Miniſtry; and that it was abſurd in King James and his Council ever to expect, that the Spaniſh Cabinet ſhould engage in a war againſt the other branch of their family, for the reſtitution of the Palatinate. The expedient propoſed by that Court, of educating a young Proteſtant Prince in ſo Catholic a Court, as that of Vienna, though recommended by the Earl of Briſtol, was certainly impracticable. That Nobleman, though a man of honour and ability, was diſappointed in his hopes of making his fortune at home by the marriage, and points very darkly at ſome ſecrets relative to it, in a defence preſented to King James after his return; the copy of which hereafter follows].

King James to the Prince, and Duke of Buckingham.

Feb. 26th.

MY ſweet Boys, and dear ventrous Knights, worthy to be put in a new Romanſo.

I thank you for your comfortable letters, but alas, think it not poſſible, that ye can be many hours undiſcovered, for your parting

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JAMES I. 1622.

was ſo blown abroad that day ye came to Dover, as the French Ambaſſador ſent a man preſently thither, who found the ports ſtopped; but yet I durſt not truſt to the bare ſtopping of the ports, there being ſo many blind creeks to paſs at, and therefore I ſent Doncaſter to the French King, with a ſhort letter of my own hand, to ſhow him that reſpect, that I may acquaint him with my ſon's paſſing unknown through his country; and this I have I done, for fear that, upon the firſt rumour of your paſſing, he ſhould take a pretext to ſtop you: and therefore Baby Charles, ye ſhall do well, how ſoon ye come to in Spain, to write a courteous excuſe of your haſty paſſage to the French King, and ſend a gentleman with it, if by any means ye may ſpare any. Vacandarie is come from Spain, but brings no news, ſave that Sim Digby is ſhortly to be here, with a liſt of their names, that are to accompany your Miſtreſs hither; only Briſtol writes an earneſt letter, to have more money allowed him for his charges at that ſolemnity, otherwiſe he ſays, he cannot haſten the conſummation of the marriage; but that ye two can beſt ſatisfy him in, when ye are there. Your houſhold, Baby, have taken care to ſave a good deal of your ordinary charges in your abſence. Kirke and Gabriel will carry Georges and Garters to you both with ſpeed, but I dare ſend no jewels of any value to either of you by land, for fear of robbers, but I will haſten all your company and proviſion to you by ſea: Noblemen ye will have enow, and too many; Carliſle and Montjoy, already gone; Andover goes preſently; and Rocheford by land; Compton goes by ſea, and I think Piercy, Arran, and Denbigh, go by land. I have ſettled Sir Francis Crane for my Steenie's buſineſs, and I am this day to ſpeak with Fotherby, and by my next, Steenie ſhall have an account both of his buſineſs, and of Kitt's* preferment, and ſupply in means; but Sir Francis Crane deſires to know if my Baby will have him to haſten the making of that ſuit of tapeſtry that he commanded him.

* Duke of Buckingham's brother.

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I have written three conſolatary letters already to Kate †, and received one fine letter from Kate; I have alſo written one to Sue ‡, but your poor old Dad is lamer than ever he was, both of his right knee and foot, and writes all this out of his naked bed; God Almighty bleſs you both my ſweet boys, and ſend you a ſafe, happy return. But I muſt command my Baby to haſten Steenie home, how ſoon ye can be aſſured of the time of your home-coming with your miſtreſs, for, without his preſence, things cannot be prepared here; and ſo God bleſs you again and again. JAMES I. 1622-3.

JAMES R.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

ON Friday laſt we arrived here at 5 o'clock at night both in perfect health; the cauſe which we advertiſe you of it no ſooner was, that we knew you would be glad to hear as well of the manner of our reception, as of our arrival. Firſt, we reſolved to diſcover the woer, becauſe, upon the ſpeedy opening of the ports, we found poſts making ſuch haſte after us, that we knew it would be diſcovered within twelve hours after, and better we had the thanks of it, than a poſtilion. The next morning we ſent for Gondemar, who went preſently to the Condé of Olivares, and as ſpeedily got me your Dog Steenie, a private audience of the King; when I was to return back to my lodging, the Condé of Olivares himſelf alone would accompany me back again to ſalute the Prince in the King's name. The next day we had a private viſit of the King, the Queen, the Infanta, Don Carlos, and the Cardinal, in the ſight of all the world, and I may call it a private obligation hidden from no body; for there was the Pope's Nuncio, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, the French, and all the ſtreets filled with guards and other people: be- March 10th;

† Wife to the Duke of Buckingham. ‡ Siſter to the Duke of Buckingham.

JAMES I. 1622-3.

fore the King's coach went the beſt of the Nobility, after followed all the Ladies of the Court: we ſat in an inviſible coach, becauſe nobody was ſuffered to take notice of it, though ſeen by all the world: in this form they paſſed three times by us, but before we could get away, the Condé of Olivares came into our coach and conveyed us home, where he told us the King longed and died for want of a nearer ſight of our woer. Firſt, he took me in his coach to go to the King; we found him walking in the ſtreets, with his cloak thrown over his face, and a ſword and buckler by his ſide; he leaped into the coach, and away he came to find the woer in another place appointed, where there paſſed much kindneſs and compliment one to another. You may judge by this, how ſenſible this King is of your ſon's journey, and if we can either judge by outward ſhows, or general ſpeeches, we have reaſon to condemn your Ambaſſadors for rather writing too ſparingly than too much. To conclude, we find the Condé Olivares ſo overvaluing of our journey, that he is ſo full of real courteſy, that we can do no leſs than beſeech your Majeſty to write the kindeſt letter of thanks and acknowledgment you can unto him: he ſaid no later to us than this morning, that if the Pope would not give a diſpenſation for a wife, they would give the Infanta to thy ſon's Baby, as his wench, and hath this day written to the Cardinal Lodovicio, the Pope's nephew, that the King of England hath put ſuch an obligation upon this King, in ſending his ſon hither, that he intreats him to make haſte of the diſpenſation, for he can deny nothing that is in his kingdom. We muſt hold you thus much longer to tell you, the Pope's Nuncio works as maliciouſly, and as actively as he can againſt us, but receives ſuch rude anſwers, that we hope he will be ſoon weary on't: we make this collection of that the Pope will be very loth to grant a diſpenſation, which, if he will not do, then we would gladly have your directions how far we may engage you in * the acknow-

* When Steenie writ this he was not in his right mind, as it would have been a breach of all the laws againſt the Pope's power.

ledgment

ledgment of the Pope's ſpecial power, for we almoſt find, if you will be contented to acknowledge the Pope, chief head under Chriſt, that the match will be made without him. So craving your bleſſing, we reſt JAMES I. 1622-3.

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Your humble ſlave and dog,

Madrid the 10th of March 1623. STEENIE.

For the beſt of fathers and maſters.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

WE are now got into Spain, free from harm of falls, in as perfect health as when we parted, and undiſcovered by any Monſieur. We met Greſlie a poſt beyond Bayonne, we ſaucily opened your letters, and found nothing either in that or any other, which we could underſtand without a cypher, that hath made us repent our journey; but by the contrary, we find nothing but particulars haſtened, and your buſineſs ſo ſlowly advanced, that we think ourſelves happy that we have begun it ſo ſoon; for yet the temporal articles are not concluded, nor will not be, till the diſpenſation comes, which may be God knows when, and when that time ſhall come, they beg twenty days to conceal it, upon pretext of making preparations: this bearer's errand was anſwered by our journey thither, yet we have thought it fit he ſhould go forward to bring you certain news of your boys, that craves your bleſſing, and reſts

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

And your humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

For the King.

JAMES I. 1622-3.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My ſweet Boys,

March 15. GOD bleſs you for the welcome cordial that Griſley brought me from you yeſterday. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador, and Boiſchotte, from the Archdutcheſs, are now agreed with me, for the depoſiting of Frankendale in the King of Spain and the Archdutcheſs's hands, without any mention of my treating with the Emperor, for that cannot now be done with my honour, he having thrice broken all his promiſes unto me: all the other conditions are very reaſonable, but I hear a whiſpering ſtill, that the King of Spain would have a match between my grand-child and the Emperor's daughter; but if either that way, or any other, this buſineſs be brought to a good end, it muſt now be done by the King of Spain's mediation betwixt the Emperor and me, whom he hath ſo far wronged and neglected, whereas before I did mediate the Emperor and my ſon-in-law. As to my Baby's own buſineſs, I find by Briſtol's cyphered letter, two points like to be ſtucken at, that ye muſt labour to help by all the means ye can. The one is a long delay of finiſhing the marriage; for that point, I doubt not but you will ſpur it on faſt enough, for though there is no other inconvenient in it, but the danger of your life, by the coming on of the heats, I think they have reaſon there, if they love themſelves, to wiſh you and yours rather to ſucceed unto me, than my daughter and her children; but for this point, I know my ſweet Goſſip Steenie will ſpur and gall them as faſt as he did the poſt horſes in France. The other point is, that they would, if not leſſen, at leaſt protract the terms for payment of the dowry; this were a baſe thing, and a breach of their promiſe made many years ago, which the Condé of Gondemar, I am ſure, will bear witneſs unto me, and if your travel thither have not earned it, as they ſay, God

ſend

ſend that ever it do me or you good. I hear they there would be at a general peace, and comprehend alſo the Low Countries; for my part, ſo that the buſineſs of the Palatinate were at a good end, I wiſh it were ſo; but if the buſineſs of your match be once fully concluded, I would be glad, ſweet Goſſip, that ye feel their pulſes anent the thing ye know concerning Holland*, which will be fitteſt for you to ſound, being my Admiral; but I am aſhamed to tell you, by the way, how many prizes belonging to you, your knaviſh and unthankful ſea captains have meddled with, and ſhared amongſt themſelves, which are not ſo few as three or four, as John Coote informs me, but within few days ye ſhall, with God's grace, have a good account of that buſineſs. In the mean time, I have fully ſatisfied the French Ambaſſador of my Baby's care to diſcharge honeſtly his promiſe unto him. I ſend this poſt in haſte, for preparing and facilitating the paſſage from the coaſt of Spain to the court thereof, for my Baby's ſervants and baggage, my ſhip being now ready to make ſail, and yet will I write with her again within two or three days, with grace of God, this being the ſixth letter I have written to you two, five to Kate, two to Sue, and one to my mother Steenie, and all with my own hand. And thus God bleſs you both, my ſweet boys, and grant you, after a ſucceſsful journey, a happy and joyful return to your dear Dad.

Newmarket, the 15th of March.

JAMES R.

* This muſt have been ſome hoſtile act againſt the Dutch.

King

JAMES I
1622-3.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My ſweet Boys,

March 17. I WRITE this now, my ſeventh letter, unto you, upon the 17th of March, ſent in my ſhip called the Adventure, to my two boys adventurers, whom God ever bleſs. And now to begin with him, *a Jove principium*, I have ſent you my Baby, two of your chaplains fitteſt for this purpoſe, Mawe and Wrenn, together, with all ſtuff and ornaments fit for the ſervice of God. I have fully inſtructed them, ſo as all their behaviour and ſervice ſhall, I hope, prove decent, and agreeable to the purity of the primitive church, and yet as near the Roman form as can lawfully be done, for it hath ever been my way to go with the church of Rome *uſque ad aras*. All the particularities hereof I remit to the relation of your before named chaplains. I ſend you alſo your robes of the order, which ye muſt not forget to wear upon St. George's day, and dine together in them, if they can come in time, which I pray God they may, for it will be a goodly ſight for the Spaniards to ſee my two boys dine in them: I ſend you alſo the jewels as I promiſed, ſome of mine and ſuch of yours, I mean both of you, as are worthy the ſending. For my Baby's preſenting his miſtreſs, I ſend him an old double croſs of Lorrain, not ſo rich as ancient, and yet not contemptible for the value; a good looking-glaſs, with my picture in it, to be hung at her girdle, which ye muſt tell her ye have cauſed it ſo to be enchanted by art magic, as whenſoever ſhe ſhall be pleaſed to look in it, ſhe ſhall ſee the faireſt Lady that either her brother or your father's dominions can afford; ye ſhall preſent her with two fair long diamonds, ſet like an anchor, and a fair pendant diamond hanging at them; ye ſhall give her a goodly rope of pearls; ye ſhall give her a carquant or collar, thirteen great balls rubies, and thirteen knots

or

or conques of pearls, and ye ſhall give her a head-dreſſing of two and twenty great pear pearls; and ye ſhall give her three goodly peak pendants diamonds, whereof the biggeſt to be worn at a needle on the midſt of her forehead, and one in every ear; and for my Baby's own wearing, ye have two good jewels of your own, your round broach of diamonds, and your triangle diamond with the great round pearl; and I ſend you for your wearing, the three brethren, that ye know full well, but newly ſet, and the mirrour of France, the fellow of the Portugal diamond, which I would wiſh you to wear alone in your hat, with a little black feather; ye have alſo good diamond buttons of your own, to be ſet to a doublet, or jerkin. As for your *I*, it may ſerve for a preſent to a Don. As for thee, my ſweet Goſſip, I ſend thee a fair table diamond, which I would once have given thee before, if thou would have taken it, for wearing in thy hat, or where thou pleaſes; and if my Baby will ſpare thee the two long diamonds in form of an anchor, with the pendant diamond, it were fit for an Admiral to wear, and he hath enough better jewels for his miſtreſs, though he's of thine own thy good old jewel, thy three pindars diamonds, the picture-caſe I gave Kate, and the great diamond chain I gave her, who would have ſent thee the leaſt pin ſhe had, if I had not ſtaid her. If my Baby will not ſpare the anchor from his miſtreſs, he may well lend thee his round broach to wear, and yet he ſhall have jewels to wear in his hat, for three great days. And now for the form of my Baby's preſenting of his jewels to his miſtreſs, I leave that to himſelf, with Steenie's advice, and my Lord of Briſtol's; only I would not have them preſented all at once, but at the more ſundry times the better, and I would have the rareſt and richeſt kept hindmoſt. I have alſo ſent four other croſſes, of meaner value, with a great pointed diamond in a ring, which will ſave charges in preſents to Dons, according to their quality; but I will ſend with the fleet, divers other

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jewels for preſents, for ſaving of charges, whereof we have too much need; for till my Baby's coming away, there will be no need of giving of preſents to any but to her. Thus you ſee, how, as long as I want the ſweet comfort of my boys converſation, I am forced, yea, and delight to converſe with them by long letters. God bleſs you both, my ſweet boys, and ſend you, after a ſucceſsful journey, a joyful and happy return in the arms of your dear Dad.

JAMES R.

* From Newmarket, on St. Patrick's day, who, of old, was too well patronized in the country you are in.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

1623. March 17.

THAT your Majeſty may be the more particularly informed of all, we will obſerve our former order, to begin ſtill where we left, which was, we think, at the King's private viſit in the night. The next day, your Baby deſired to kiſs his hands privately in the palace, which was granted, and thus performed. Firſt, the King would not ſuffer him to come to his chamber, but met him at the ſtair foot, then entered into the coach, and walked into his park. The greateſt matter that paſt between them, at that time, was compliments, and particular queſtions of our journey, then, by force, he would needs convey him half-way home, in which doing, they were both almoſt overthrown in brick pits. Two days after, we met with his Majeſty again in his park, with his two brothers; they ſpent

* There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the trifling, goſſiping turn of King James than this letter; and one is not ſurpriſed, that, when his ſon and his favourite returned home, they did what they pleaſed.

their

their time in ſeeing his men kill partridges flying, and conies running, with a gun. Yeſterday, being Sunday, your Baby went to a monaſtery called St. Jeronimo's, to dinner, which ſtands a little out of the town. After dinner came all the Counſellors in order, to welcome your Baby; then came the King himſelf, with all his nobility, and made their entry, with as great triumph as could be, where he forced your Baby to ride on his right hand, which he obſerves always; this entry was made, juſt as when the Kings of Caſtile come firſt to the crown: all priſoners ſet at liberty, and no office nor matters of grace falls, but is put into your Baby's hands, to diſpoſe. We trouble your Majeſty more particularly with theſe things of ceremony, that you may be better able to guide yourſelf towards this nobleman, who is ſent of purpoſe to advertiſe you of your ſon's ſafe arrival here, for ſooner than he was received in the palace, they took no notice of his coming. We had almoſt forgotten to tell you, that the firſt thing they did at their arrival into the palace, was the viſiting of the Queen, where grew a quarrel between your Baby and Lady, for want of a ſalutation; but your dog's opinion is, that this is an artificial forced quarrel, to beget hereafter the greater kindneſs. JAMES I. 1623.

For our many and chief buſineſs, we find them by outward ſhows, as deſirous of it as ourſelves, yet are they hankering upon a converſion; for they ſay, that there can be no firm friendſhip without union in religion, but put no queſtion in beſtowing their ſiſter, and we put the other quite out of queſtion, becauſe neither our conſcience nor the time ſerves for it, and becauſe we will not implicitly rely upon them. For fear of delays (which we account the worſt denial), we intend to ſend, with all ſpeed, Mihill Andros, to come to bring us certain word from Gage, how he finds our buſineſs proſper there, according to which we will guide ourſelves. Yet ever reſolving to guide ourſelves by your directions, ſo craving your bleſſing we end.

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

JAMES I. 1623.

* *I beſeech your Majeſty adviſe as little with your Council in theſe buſineſſes as you can.* I hope in writing jointly as we do, we pleaſe you beſt, for I aſſure your Majeſty, it is not for ſaving pains. This King did intreat me to ſend your Majeſty a great recautho, in his name (which is a compliment), for which, in my poor opinion, it will not be amiſs for your Majeſty to write him a letter of thanks, for all the favours he has done me ſince I came hither, with that of the Condé of Olivares.

CHARLES.

Madrid, the 17th of March 1623.

Your Majeſty's humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

THE chiefeſt advertiſement of all we omitted in our other letter, which was to let you know how we like your daughter, his wife, and my lady miſtreſs: without flattery, I think there is not a ſweeter creature in the world. Baby Charles himſelf is ſo touched at the heart, that he confeſſes all he ever yet ſaw, is nothing to her, and ſwears, that if he want her, there ſhall be blows. I ſhall loſe no time in haſtening their conjunction, in which I ſhall pleaſe him, her, you, and myſelf moſt of all, in thereby getting liberty to make the ſpeedier haſte to lay myſelf at your feet; for never none longed more to be in the arms of his Miſtreſs. So craving your bleſſing I end.

Your humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

* This is in the Prince's own hand, and ſo is the date.

I have

I have incloſed two or three letters of the Condé of Olivares, to Gondemar, whereby you will judge of his kind carefulneſs of your ſon. JAMES I. 1623.

For the beſt of Maſters.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My ſweet Boys,

GOD bleſs you both, and reward you for the comfortable news I received from you yeſterday (which was my coronation day), in place of a tilting; and God bleſs thee, my ſweet Goſſip, for thy little letter all full of comfort. I have written a letter to the Condé d'Olivares, as both of you deſired me, as full of thanks and kindneſs as can be deviſed, and indeed he well deſerves; but in the end of your letter, ye put in a cooling card, anent the Nuncio's averſeneſs to this buſineſs, and that thereby ye collect, that the Pope will likewiſe be averſe; but firſt ye muſt remember, that in Spain they never put doubt of the granting of the diſpenſation; that themſelves did ſet down the ſpiritual conditions, which I fully agreed unto, and by them were they ſent to Rome, and the Conſulto there concluded, that the Pope might, nay ought, for the weal of Chriſtendom, grant a diſpenſation upon theſe conditions; theſe things may juſtly be laid before them; but I know not what ye mean by my acknowledging the Pope's ſpiritual ſupremacy. I am ſure ye would not have me renounce my religion for all the world; but all that I can gueſs at your meaning is, that it may be ye have an alluſion to a paſſage in my book againſt Bellarmine, where I offer, if the Pope would quit his godhead, and uſurping over Kings, to acknowledge him for the Chief Biſhop, to which all appeals of churchmen ought March 25.

JAMES I. 1623.

to lie *en dernier reſort**; the very words I ſend you here incloſed, and that is the fartheſt that my conſcience will permit me to go upon this point; for I am not a Monſieur who can ſhift his religion as eaſily as he can ſhift his ſhirt, when he cometh from tennis.

I have no more to ſay in this, but God bleſs you, my ſweet Baby, and ſend him good fortune in his wooing, to the comfort of his old father, who cannot be happy but in him. My ſhip is ready to make ſail, and only ſtays for a fair wind, God ſend it her; but I have, for the honour of England, curtailed the train that goes by ſea, of a number of raſcals. And my ſweet Steenie Goſſip, I muſt tell thee, that Kate was a little ſick within theſe four or five days of a head-ach, and the next morning, after a little caſting, was well again. I hope it is a good ſign, that I ſhall ſhortly be a goſſip over again, for I muſt be thy perpetual goſſip; but the poor fool Kate, hath, by importunity, gotten leave of me, to ſend thee both her rich chains; and this is now the eighth letter I have written to my two boys, and ſix to Kate. God ſend me ſtill more and more comfortable news of you both, till I may have a joyful, comfortable, and happy meeting with you, and that my Baby may bring home a fair lady with him, as this is written upon our Lady-day.

JAMES, R.

* And for myſelf, if that were yet the queſtion, I would with all my heart give my conſent, that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould have the firſt ſeat. I being a weſtern King, would go with the Patriarch of the Weſt. And for his temporal principality over the Signiory of Rome, I do not quarrel it neither; let him, in God's name, be *primus epiſcopus inter omnes epiſcopos, et princeps epiſcoporum*, ſo it be no otherwiſe but as St. Peter was *princeps apoſtolorum*.

The Prince and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

ACCORDING to our promiſe in our laſt, we write to you this day again, for our poſt is not yet parted, and that this may not altogether be empty, we think it not amiſs to aſſure you, that neither in ſpiritual nor temporal things, there is any thing preſt upon us more than is already agreed upon; fain would they, in this time of expecting the diſpenſation, have treated upon the ends and effects of friendſhip, but we have avoided it with ſo many forcible arguments, that they now reſt ſatisfied. They were likewiſe in hope of a converſion of us both, but now excuſes are more ſtudied than reaſons for it, though they ſay their loves ſhall ever make them wiſh it. To conclude; we never ſaw the buſineſs in a better way than now it is. Therefore we humbly beſeech you, loſe no time in haſting the ſhips, that we may make the more haſte to beg that perſonally, which now we do by letter, your bleſſing. March 27.

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Madrid, the 27th of March 1623.

Your Majeſty's humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My ſweet Boys,

GOD ever bleſs, and thank you for your laſt ſo comfortable letters; it is an eaſe to my heart now that I am ſure you have received ſome of my letters. As for the fleet, that ſhould, with Apri 10.

JAMES I. 1623.

God's grace, bring my Baby home; they are in far greater readineſs than you could have believed, for they will be ready to make ſail before the firſt of May, if need were; and the ſmalleſt of ſix, beſides the two that go for Steenie, are between five and ſix hundred tons, their names and burden, Dick Grame ſhall bring you, who is to follow two days hence; it is therefore now your promiſe to advertiſe by the next poſt, how ſoon ye would have them to make ſail, for the charge and trouble will be infinite, if their equipage ſtay long aboard, conſuming victuals, and making the ſhips to ſtink. My Goſſip ſhall come home in the George, and the Antelope wait upon him, and of their readineſs Dick Grame will bring you word. The Treaſurer* likewiſe made that money ready, which my Baby deſired: I muſt bear him witneſs, he ſpares not to engage himſelf, and all he is worth, for the buſineſs.

The 10th of April.

JAMES, R.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

April 22.

WE are ſorry that we are not able to continue the advertiſement of the diſpenſation's arrival: it is certainly granted, and is as certainly upon the way hither, and although clogged with ſome new condition, yet ſuch as we hope with eaſe to remove. They are theſe: two years more to the education of the children; no other oath to be miniſtered to the Roman catholic ſubjects, than that which is given to the Infanta's ſervants, and that they may all have free acceſs to her church. We hope in granting the firſt, yet mak-

* Cranfield Earl of Middleſex.

ing it hard, we ſhall not only facilitate the other two conditions, but, in a little time hereafter, bring more years back again with the two; to this we will both recommend ſecrecy here, and to you there. If we receive your directions in time to this, we will punctually follow them. To the ſecond, our anſwer will be, the oath was made by act of parliament, and that you cannot abrogate it, without the whole conſent of your people. In the laſt, we hope to let them ſee, as it will bring but a peſter and an inconvenience to the Infanta herſelf, ſo it will leſs ſatisfy the Catholics, becauſe it will make the act more public, and leſs uſeful to their ends, than to have the exerciſes of their conſciences freely, in their own houſes; for all meeting in one centre, the number will ſeem greater, and ſo make the State jealouſer, and conſequently make their ſecurity more uncertain, this being no leſs than in covered words, to aſk liberty of conſcience, which you have neither mind nor power to grant; many other reaſons we have, and ſo powerful, that we make neither queſtion to ſpeed the buſineſs, nor to end it to your own liking; which ſweet Jeſus grant, and your bleſſing to

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient ſon and ſervant.

CHARLES.

Madrid, the 22d of April 1623.

Your Majeſty's humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

JAMES I.
1623.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip.

April 27th. MIHILL Andros is now come back from Rome, but the Diſpenſation got hither before him: that you may the better judge of the conditions it is clogged with, we have ſent you Gage's letters; this comfort yourſelf with, that we will not be long before we get forth of this labyrinth, wherein we have been entangled theſe many years: we beſeech your Majeſty be ſecret in the conditions, and be aſſured we will yield to nothing, but what you may perform, both with your honour and conſcience: if you ſhould not keep them ſo, it will beget diſpute, cenſures, and concluſions there to our prejudice. The chief end of ſending this poſt is to tell you, that the Groyne is reſolved on, to be the fitteſt port for your ſhips, and us here; wherefore we pray your Majeſty to make no delay, but to ſend them with all ſpeed thither. Sir, I Steenie am commanded by my wife, to trouble you with a deed of honour and charity, to have a care of the widow, miſtreſs Murrey, whom you promiſed, in her huſband's time, to provide for, and her ſeven children. We have been both much comforted with the return of Dick Grame, who hath made to me your Dog in particular, ſuch a relation of your Majeſty's conſtant care and love of me, in my abſence, that now I ſhall follow your ſervice with a chearful heart, though not with a more truſtful nor affectionate one; for he hath told me your carriage hath been ſuch, that it hath calmed the mad malice of all my enemies, which was no ſmall grief to me to hear they were of ſo great a number; and for that honour *, which your Majeſty tells me my Lord Treaſurer hath been an importunate ſuitor for, though not a ſecret one, give

* A Dukedom.

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me leave, out of the pride of my heart to ſay, whenſoever any thing proceeds otherwiſe than immediately from your own heart and affection, I ſhall kiſs it, and lay it down at your feet again, for hitherto you have accuſtomed me to no other. Out of a certain report here, that you had done it, I ſent Edward Clarke purpoſely to intreat you to undo it, or to add one more for my ſake; but now that it is undone, which I thank God heartily for, I beſeech your Majeſty humbly on my knees to let it remain ſo, till I have the happineſs to ſpeak with yourſelf, which is infinitely deſired by your two boys that crave your bleſſing. JAMES I. 1623.

P. S. By Prince Charles.

We ſend this poſt with ſuch ſpeed, that we have no time to write this better.

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient
ſon and ſervant,

Madrid,
the 27th of April, 1623. CHARLES.

Prince Charles to King James.

SIR,

I DO find, that if I have not ſomewhat under your Majeſty's hand to ſhow, whereby that ye engage yourſelf to do whatſomever I ſhall promiſe in your name, that it will retard the buſineſs a great while; wherefore I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to ſend me a warrant to this effect: April 29th

We do hereby promiſe, by the word of a King, that whatſoever you our ſon ſhall promiſe in our name, we ſhall punctually perform.

JAMES I. 1623.

Sir, I confeſs that this is an ample truſt that I deſire, and if it were not mere neceſſity, I ſhould not be ſo bold, yet I hope your Majeſty ſhall never repent you of any truſt you put upon

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient
ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Madrid,
the 29th of April, 1623.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

April 29th. THIS letter of your ſon's is written out of an extraordinary deſire to be ſoon with you again; he thinks if you ſign thus much, though they would be glad (which yet he doth not diſcover) to make any farther delay, this will diſappoint them: the diſcretion of your Baby you need not doubt, and for the faith of myſelf, I ſhall ſooner loſe life, than in the leaſt kind break it. And ſo in haſte I crave your bleſſing *.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble
ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

Madrid,
the 29th of April, 1623.

* There cannot be a ſtronger proof of the reliance which the Prince and the favourite had on the King's weakneſs, than theſe two letters.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My ſweet Boys,

YESTERDAY in the afternoon I received two packets from you after my coming hither, by two ſeveral poſts, and the day before I wrote to you my opinion from Theobald's, anent the three conditions annexed to the diſpenſation: I now ſend you, my Baby, here incloſed, the power you deſire. It were a ſtrange truſt that I would refuſe to put upon my only ſon, and upon my beſt ſervant. I know ſuch two ye are, will never promiſe in my name, but what may ſtand with my conſcience, honour, and ſafety, and all theſe I do fully truſt with any one of you two: my former letter will ſhow you my conceit, and now I put the full power in your hands, with God's bleſſing on you both, praying him ſtill, that after a happy ſucceſs there, ye may ſpeedily and happily return, and light in the arms of your dear Dad.

JAMES, R.

Greenwich,
the 11th of May, 1623.

The Prince and Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

THE Pope having written a courteous letter to me your Baby, I have been bold to write him an anſwer, without your Majeſty's leave, the copy whereof is here incloſed: we make no doubt but to have the opinions of theſe buſily Divines reverſed (for already the Condé of Olivares hath put out ten of the worſt), ſo your Majeſty will be pleaſed to begin to put in execution the favour towards your June 6th.

JAMES I. 1623.

Roman Catholic ſubjects, that ye will be bound to do by your oath, as ſoon as the Infanta comes over, which we hope you will do for the haſtening of us home, with this proteſtation to reverſe all, if there be any delay of the marriage. We ſend you here the articles as they are to go, the oaths private and public, that you and your Baby are to take, with the Councils', wherein, if you ſcare at the leaſt clauſe of your private oath (where you promiſe that the Parliament ſhall revoke all the penal laws againſt the Papiſts within three years) we ſought good to tell your Majeſty our opinions, which is, that if you think you may do it in that time (which we think you may), if you do your beſt, although it take not effect, you have not broken your word, for this promiſe is only as a ſecurity that you will do your beſt. The Spaniſh Ambaſſador, for reſpect of the Pope, will preſent unto you, the articles as they came from Rome; as likewiſe for to require, that the delivery of the Infanta may be deferred till the Spring: his commiſſion is to preſs for this, but to be ſatisfied with what we have yielded to here. We both humbly beg of your Majeſty, that you will confirm theſe articles ſoon, and preſs earneſtly for our ſpeedy return. So craving your bleſſings we reſt,

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient
ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble
ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My ſweet Boys,

YOUR letter by Cottington, hath ſtrucken me dead; I fear it ſhall very much ſhorten my days, and I am the more perplexed that I know not how to ſatisfy the people's expectation here, neither know I what to ſay to our Council, for the fleet that ſtaid upon a wind this fortnight. Rutland, and all aboard muſt now be ſtaid, and I know not what reaſon I ſhall pretend for the doing of it *, but as for my advice and directions that ye crave, in caſe they will not alter their decree, it is in a word, to come ſpeedily away, and if ye can get leave, and give over all treaty. And this I ſpeak without reſpect of any ſecurity they can offer you, except ye never look to ſee your old Dad again, whom I fear ye ſhall never ſee, if you ſee him not before Winter: Alas, I now repent me ſore, that ever I ſuffered you to go away. I care for Match, nor nothing, ſo I may once have you in my arms again; God grant it, God grant it, God grant it, amen, amen, amen. I proteſt ye ſhall be as heartily welcome, as if ye had done all things ye went for, ſo that I may once have you in my arms again, and God bleſs you both, my only ſweet ſon, and my only beſt ſweet ſervant, and let me hear from you quickly with all ſpeed, as ye love my life; and ſo God ſend you a happy and joyful meeting in the arms of your dear Dad. June 14th.

JAMES, R.

From Greenwich, the 14th of June, 1623.

* Here follow five lines blotted ſo as not to be read.

JAMES I. 1623.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

June 26. THOUGH late, yet at laſt, we have gotten the articles drawn up in form, which we ſent you by the Lord Rochford, without any new addition or alteration. The foolery of the Condé of Olivares hath been cauſe of this long delay, who would wilfully againſt thee have pulled it out of the Junto's and Council's hands, and put it into a wrangling lawyer's, a favourite of his, who, like himſelf, had not only put it into an odious form, but had ſlipped in a multitude of new, unreaſonable, undemanded, and ungranted conditions, which the Council yielded unto, merely out of fear; for when we met with the Junto, they did not make one anſwer to any of our objections, but confeſſed, with bluſhing faces, we had more than reaſon of our ſides; and concluded with us, that the ſame oath ſhould ſerve, which paſſed between Queen Mary and King Philip, being put to the end of every article which is to be ſworn to. By this you may a little gueſs with what favour they proceed with us, firſt, delaying us as long as poſſibly they can, then, when things are concluded of, they throw in new particulars, in hope they will paſs, out of our deſire to make haſte; but when our buſineſs is done, we ſhall joy in it the more that we have overcome ſo many difficulties; in the mean time we expect pity at your hands. But, for the love of God, and our buſineſs, let nothing fall from you to diſcover any thing of this, and comfort yourſelf that all things will end well, to your contentment and honour. Our return now, will depend on your quick diſpatch of theſe; for we thank God we find the heats ſuch here, as we may very well travel both evenings and mornings. The Divines have not yet recalled their ſentence, but the Condé tells us, he hath converted very many of them, yet keeps his old form,

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in giving us no hope of any thing, till the buſineſs ſpeaks it itſelf. But we dare ſay they dare not break it upon this, nor (we think) upon any other, except the affairs of Chriſtendom ſhould ſmile ſtrangely upon them, which will at all times, and in all caſes, guide them. So craving your bleſſing we end. JAMES I. 1623.

SIR,

In the midſt of our ſerious buſineſs, little pretty Toby Matthews comes to intreat us to deliver this letter to your Majeſty, which is, as he calls it, a picture of the Infanta's, drawn in black and white. We pray you let none laugh at it but yourſelf, and honeſt Kate; he thinks he has hit the nail of the head, but you will find it the fooliſheſt thing that ever you ſaw.

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

Madrid,
the 26th of June, 1623.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

OUR other letter was written before William Crofts came; he hath brought with him letters to our heart's deſire; we have thus far made uſe of them already. This morning we ſent for the Condé of Olivares, and, with a ſad countenance, told him of your peremptory command, intreating him in the kindeſt manner we could, to give us his advice how we might comply with this, and not deſtroy the buſineſs. His anſwer was, that there was two good June 27.

JAMES I. 1623.

ways to do the buſineſs, and one ill one; the two good ones was, either with your Baby's converſion, or to do it with truſt, putting all things freely, with the Infanta, into our hands; the ill one was, to bargain, and ſtick upon conditions as long as they could. As for the firſt, we abſolutely rejected it, and for the ſecond, he confeſt, if he were King, he would do it, and, as he is, it lay in his power to do it; but he caſt many doubts leſt he ſhould hereafter ſuffer for it, if it ſhould not ſucceed; the laſt he confeſt impoſſible, ſince your command was ſo peremptory. To conclude, he left us with a promiſe to conſider of it, and when I, your dog, conveyed him to the door, he bad me chear up my heart, and your Baby's both. Our opinion is, that the longeſt time we can ſtay here, will be a month, and not that neither, without bringing the Infanta with us. If we find not ourſelves aſſured of that, look for us ſooner. Whether of theſe reſolutions be taken, you ſhall hear from us ſhortly, that you may in time accordingly give order for the fleet. We muſt once again intreat your Majeſty to make all the haſte you can, to return theſe papers confirmed, and in the mean time to give order for the execution of all theſe things, and to let us here know ſo much.

Sir, let the worſt that can come, we make no doubt but to be with you before you end your progreſs; therefore we intreat you to take comfort, for in your health depends all our happineſs. So craving your bleſſing we end.

I your Majeſty's Dog beſeecheth you to tell Cottington that I love him, and I pray you to do the like, for he is an honeſt man and deſerves it, or elſe call me knave.

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

Madrid,
the 27th of June, 1623.

Duke of Buckingham to Secretary Conway.

Dear Friend,

I PRAY you deliver this incloſed to his Majeſty: it contains no more than that on Wedneſday at the fartheſt, we ſhall have our laſt anſwer. I hope it will be good; if it be not, we ſhall be ſoon with you, ſo farewel. June 29.

Your affectionate friend and ſervant,

Madrid, the 29th of June, 1623.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

BY Killegrew's diſpatch, you underſtand how we intreated the Condé of Olivares to give us his advice how we might comply with your peremptory command, and not deſtroy that buſineſs our hearts was ſo much ſet on; to give an anſwer to which he required ſome time. The next day, at night, we ſent for him again, and preſſed him for his opinion and counſel; to which he anſwered, on Monday the Divines ſhould meet and give in their opinions, and upon Tueſday or Wedneſday at the fartheſt, his Majeſty ſhould ſend us his laſt and final anſwer; but perceiving that we all looked ſadly, and was at a reſolution to return ſpeedily upon it, if it were not to your Majeſty's ſatisfaction and ours, which could not be, except they reſolved preſently to give her without any new or farther conditions, he concluded, that he would do his beſt, and bid us be of good comfort, for he was in no doubt himſelf but all would end well. This we have thought good to advertiſe your Majeſty of, to the end June 29.

JAMES I. 1623.

you may not grieve yourſelf, nor think the time long; and conſidering till our coming, nothing was done, or intended, you may be the better ſatisfied with this our ſtay. They ſhall no ſooner declare themſelves to us, but you ſhall have it; ſo we crave your bleſſing, and end.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Madrid, the 29th of June, 1623.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

July 15.

YOU have underſtood by this time, how we were forced to reſort to your laſt letter, ſent to us by Crofts: they continue ſtill the ſame expreſſions of joy which we then advertiſed you of. We have thought it fit again, at this time, to intreat you to put all thoſe things in preſent execution, in the favour of your Roman Catholic ſubjects, that you're bound hereafter to do by the articles; for we are in good hope, if that be, to bring the Infanta at Michaelmas with us. We have given them theſe reaſons to perſuade them to it; the lengthening of your Majeſty's days; the honour of your ſon; the ſatisfaction of your whole people in general; and the eaſier and ſooner performance of what is promiſed, with the charge you have been this year already at, and how much it will be increaſed more by her ſtay till the Spring. We have ſhowed them three ways to do it; firſt, by alledging the Infanta's love to your ſon, which will ſerve to take off the blame of the act from the Condé of Olivares, if the people ſhould diſlike it, which he ſeems much to fear, and for

which, we find, he hath little reaſon; but becauſe he gives ſo ill, and ſo unlikely a reaſon, we philoſophy upon the worſt on his part, than to make another trial with the Junto of Divines, where they may make uſe of the advertiſement they received laſt, concerning the execution, from their own Ambaſſadors; but that, I hope, will be better ſtrengthened by what they ſhall write hereafter; and laſtly, while this is working, to ſend to Rome, to perſuade the Pope to diſpenſe with this King's oath, ſince your Majeſty, your ſon, and your Council, hath agreed to that, for which that oath was required.

Sir, We do not know whether this will take effect or not; if it do not, we will be the ſooner with you; we know you will think a little more time will be well ſpent to bring her with us, when, by that means, we may upon equaller terms treat with them of other things. Do your beſt there, and we will not fail of ours here. You ſhall do well to ſee the Ambaſſadors letters, and ſend them in your own packets. Of all this we muſt intreat you to ſpeak nothing, for if you do, our labour will be the harder here, and when it ſhall be hoped there, and not take effect, they will be the more diſcontented. I your Baby have, ſince this concluſion, been with my miſtreſs, and ſhe ſits publickly with me at the plays, and within theſe two or three days ſhall take place of the Queen, as Princeſs of England. I your Dog, have alſo had a viſit of her, to deliver your letter, and to give her the *par bien* of this concluſion. As this proſpers, you ſhall hear from time to time. So we crave your bleſſing, and end.

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Madrid, the 15th of July, 1623.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

JAMES I. 1623.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My ſweet Boys,

July 21. EVEN as I was going yeſterday in the evening to the Ambaſſador's to take my private oath, having taken the public, before noon, with great ſolemnity, Andover came ſtepping in at the door like a ghoſt, and delivered me your letters. Since it can be no better I muſt be contented; but this courſe is both a diſhonour to me, and double charges, if I muſt ſend two fleets; but if they will not ſend her till March, let them, in God's name, ſend her by their own fleet. The Ambaſſadors ſpeak broadly againſt this delay, and plainly ſay that it is ſenſeleſs, and ſwear they will write earneſtly with Cottington, to perſuade the change of that reſolution; but, if no better may be, do ye haſten your buſineſs, the fleet ſhall be at you ſo ſoon as wind and weather can ſerve, and this bearer will bring you the power to treat for the Palatinate, and the matter of Holland; and, ſweet Baby, go on with the contract, and the beſt aſſurance ye can get of ſending her next year; but, upon my bleſſing, lie not with her in Spain, except ye be ſure to bring her with you, and forget not to make them to keep their former conditions anent the portion, otherwiſe both my Baby and I are bankrupts for ever. And now I muſt tell you miracles; our great Primate* hath behaved himſelf wonderful well in this buſineſs, inſomuch as my Lord Keeper† ſays, he will love him the better while he lives for it; and my Lord Chamberlain hath gone beyond all the Council, in clear and honeſt dealing in this buſineſs; as all other things I remit to the ſufficiency of this bearer, whom Steenie hath ſo earneſtly recommended unto me. And ſo God bleſs you, my ſweet children, and ſend you a happy, joyful, and ſpeedy return in the arms of your dear Dad. Amen.

Whitehall, the 21ſt of July, 1623.

JAMES, R.

* Abbot. † Williams.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.

Gracious Patron,

VOUCHSAFE that firſt with which I am fulleſt, my unexpreſſible thankfulneſs for the honour and favour of your letter by the Lord of Andover, who arrived to his Majeſty's preſence on Sunday the 20th of July, unheard of till he preſented himſelf, in the withdrawing chamber, to his Majeſty. His Lordſhip delivered the packet to the hands of his Majeſty, who, when he had read the letters, gave them to Sir Francis Cottington, and afterwards gave me your Grace's directed to me, which I received with as much joy, and more humble acknowlegement, than ever I applied to words directed from the hands of a miſtreſs. And to the buſineſs, your letters came as ſeaſonably; his Majeſty having feaſted the Ambaſſadors, the Lords of the Council having received his Majeſty's warrant under the Great Seal, and taken their oaths without diſpute, ſo many as was there; the Lord Chamberlain being then extremely ill of the ſtone, and the Lord Brooke ſo too, the Earl of Arundel gone into Flanders to viſit his ſon then ſick there, Zouch at Dover, Southampton in the country, Sir Robert Naunton at his houſe not called. July 23d.

His Majeſty called, into his bed-chamber, Mr. Secretary Calvert, Cottington, and myſelf, communicated to us the contents of your letters, by which appeared the condition of the affairs with you, and what you required hence. The contentment began there, which quickly ran through Court and city, and will fly through the kingdom, that his Highneſs and your Grace would ſhortly be at home, a point much queſtioned and feared. All you expected hence was in ſuch forwardneſs, as there was not much to be ſaid to it. The deliberations were the ſtaying of that part of the fleet laſt deſigned into Scotland, and ſending them, with the reſt, to the port you deſired (St Anderas); and how to move the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors to write, that the favour intended to the Roman Catholics was already put in execution;

JAMES I. 1623.

cution; which ſeemed not uneaſy, the Council having advanced ſo far, and his Majeſty attending only the Ambaſſadors repoſing a little, before he paſſed to his part. The Ambaſſadors being brought from their rooms of reſt unto the lodging next to the ſtone table chamber, his Majeſty found them there, and they having with them only their prieſt, Mr. Secretary Calvert, Sir Francis Cottington, and myſelf were called in, and had the honour to be witneſſes to as dainty an introduction to a buſineſs of that conſequence as ever I heard, which freely foreſhowed the impoſſibilities of the exact performance of the literal part concerning the Parliament, but in the ſenſe of doing his beſt; and in the underſtanding of that part, which gives freedom and immunity to the Roman Catholics from all laws. His Majeſty's reading on that text, *ſaving in violent caſes, according to reaſon of ſtate*, to that part the Ambaſſador gave all approbation; but, gently and modeſtly, by acknowleging his Majeſty's abſolute power, ſeemed to call for and depend upon ſatisfaction in that point. But all thoſe paſſages for your more eaſe, I leave them to Sir Francis Cottington's more clear relation. Upon his Majeſty's motion for the Ambaſſadors letters into Spain, that favour to the Roman Catholics was already put into execution, they faintly accorded; but withal prayed to have ſome acts done, which might be public and authentical.

His Majeſty accorded that, and ſolemnly ſatisfied all on his part to be done.

The Ambaſſadors took their leaves, contented to the full. And although greater aſtoniſhment could not ſurprize men, than the contemplation of the iſſue of theſe laſt actions; yet, conceiving the point to be the redemption and ſatisfaction of the Prince, they are comforted, beyond the poſſibility of their diſcourſe, by the confidence they have of the noble, conſtant, pious reſolutions of his Highneſs and your Grace; of which the beſt ſort of the people are not only very full, but withal well aſſured concerning religion.

Notwithſtanding all the fearful rumours ſpread and ſigns conceived, it will truly be a work worthy of the Prince and yourſelf, to make

make your return as ſoon as poſſible, and either to bring the Princeſs with you, or the Prince as free as his affection, and the general paſt demonſtration, will admit; if the neceſſity of the affairs, or the power of deſtiny, will have it otherwiſe, there is nothing but a ſad ſubmiſſion. But for my part, there is nothing that I cannot hope from the venture and good fortune of his Highneſs and your Grace.

After reſolution taken by his Majeſty to haſten the Lord of Rutland to you with the fleet, and that his Majeſty had reſolved upon ſome limitation for the diſpatch of Sir Francis Cottington in matter and time, and had given order to Mr. Secretary Calvert to make the diſpatch back to Spain, I took the boldneſs to get leave of his Majeſty to go to Greenwich on the Monday, to ſolemnize a marriage between a daughter of mine and Sir Robert Harley. I returned hither yeſterday to ſee the proſecution of the fleet's diſpatch, have ſpoken with the Lord of Rutland, and find all things well advanced; and this night I hope to find his Majeſty at Andover, and to return to the Lord of Rutland his Majeſty's warrant to carry the fleet to St. Andera, and that is all his Lordſhip attends; at leaſt, by that time he will be ready to go the fleet. Your noble Lady, the unmatchable pattern of a wife, and your daughter as exceedingly fair, are both well; and the confidence of your ſpeedy return hath wrought a great advantage of the complexion and good looks of your reverenced lady and honourable ſiſter.

If I were not jealous of myſelf, that I look upon the public good with the ſpectacles of ſelf-love, I ſhould a thouſand times beg of you to haſten his Highneſs's return and yours. But I will pray to the Almighty to make you way to his glory, and your own honour. And I do beg of your Grace to preſent my ſervice acceptably to his Highneſs, and that you will be pleaſed to keep in your intentions to command.

Your Grace's, &c.

EDWARD CONWAY.

P. S. The acts of favour are gone this day to the King's ſignature, which known, will create cold ſweat and fear, until the return of his Highneſs and your Grace.

Prince Charles and the Duke, to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

July 29th. AFTER a long expectation of Griſley, he arrived yeſterday morning, with the good news of your health, and the diſpatch of our buſineſs: we are ſorry that there are aroſe in your conſcience any ſcruples, but we are very confident, when we ſee your Majeſty, to give you very good ſatisfaction for all we have done; and had we had leſs help, we had done it both ſooner and better, but we leave that till our meeting. Sir, we have not been idle in this interim, for we can now tell you certainly, that, by the 29th of your Auguſt, we ſhall begin our journey, and hope to bring her with us; but if they will not ſuffer her to come till the Spring, whether we ſhall be contracted or not, we humbly beſeech your Majeſty to leave it to our diſcretions, who are upon the place, and ſee things at a nearer diſtance, and a truer glaſs than you and your Council can there; for marriage there ſhall be none, without her coming with us, and in the mean time comfort yourſelf with this, that we have already convinced the Condé of Olivares in this point, that it is fit the Infanta come with us before Winter. He is working underhand with the Divines, and, under colour of the King' and Prince's journey, makes preparation for hers alſo; her houſhold is a ſettling, and all other things for her journey, and the Condé's own words are, he will throw us all out of Spain as ſoon as he can. There remains no more for you to do, but to ſend us peremptory commands to come away, and with all poſſible ſpeed: we deſire this, not that we fear we ſhall have need of it, but in caſe we have, that your ſon (who hath expreſſed much affection to the perſon of the Infanta) may preſs his coming away, under the colour of your command, without appearing an ill lover. I your Baby give you humble and infinite thanks,

for

for the care you have expreſſed, both to my perſon and honour. JAMES I. 1623.
And I your ſlave and dog, who have moſt cauſe, give you none at all, becauſe you have ſent me no news of my wife, and have given her leave to be ſick, and I conclude it the more dangerous, becauſe you dare not write me news of it. We hope you have ſent the reſt of the navy towards us, by this time; if you have not, we beſeech you to uſe all the ſpeed you can, as we ſhall do, to caſt ourſelves, with an increaſe of your fleet. So we crave your bleſſing.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Your majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

Madrid,
the 29th of July, 1623.

STEENIE.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dead Dad and Goſſip,

IF I ſhould give you due thanks for all you have done for me, I ſhould ſpend my time in nothing elſe, and ſo want to give this account of your ſon's buſineſs, which you have moſt reaſon now to hearken after. When you ſhall have moſt leiſure to receive thanks, and I thought beſt how to give them, as heretofore ſo then, your part will be to back and run from them. In the mean time, Sir, know, that upon the King's Council, and Court's expreſſion of joy, that the Prince had come into, and accepted of their own offers here, to be contracted, and ſtay for the Infanta's following him at the beginning of the Spring, that we thought it a fit time in the heat of their July 30th.

 expreſſions,

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expreſſions, to try their good-natures, and preſs the Infanta's preſent going. Whereupon the Prince ſent me to the Condé of Olivares, with theſe reaſons for it, that firſt, it would lengthen much your days, who beſt deſerved of them in this, and many other buſineſſes; It would add much to the honour of the Prince, which otherwiſe muſt needs ſuffer; The Infanta would thereby gain the ſooner the hearts of the people, and ſo conſequently make her deſires and their ends ſooner and eaſier to be effected in favour of the Catholics; That otherwiſe we ſhould compaſs but one of thoſe ends for which we came, for marriage, and not friendſhip, and ſo it would prove but like the French alliance; That the affairs of Chriſtendom would eaſilier and ſooner be compounded; That if he had any reaſons of ſtate in it, which he hoped to gain at the Spring, I would ſhow him how he would better compaſs it now, than when their diſtruſt would beget the ſame in us; How your Majeſty had been this year at a great charge already, and how this delay would but be of more, to both kingdoms: With this I intreated him to think of my poor particular who had waited upon the Prince hither, and in that, diſtaſted all the people in general; How he laid me open to their malice and revenge, when I had brought from them their Prince a free man, and ſhould return him bound by a contract, and ſo locked from all poſterity, till they pleaſed here; How that I could not think of this obligation, if he would relieve me in it, without horror or fear, if I were not his faithful friend and ſervant, and intended thankfulneſs. He interrupted this with many grumblings, but at laſt ſaid, I had bewitched him; but if there was a witch in the company, I am ſure there was a devil too. From him I repaired to his Lady, who, I muſt tell you by the way, is as good a woman as lives, which makes me think all favourites muſt have good wives, whom I told what I had done; ſhe liked of it very well, and promiſed her beſt aſſiſtance. Some three or four days after, the Prince ſent to intreat him to ſettle her houſe, and to give order in other things for their journey; he aſked what

day he would go away, but himſelf named the 29th of your Auguſt, JAMES I. 1623.
which the Prince accepted of. Some two days after, the good Counteſs ſent for me, the moſt afflicted woman in the world, and told me the Infanta had told her, the Prince meant to go away without her, and for her part, ſhe took it ſo ill, to ſee him ſo careleſs of her, that ſhe would not be contracted till the day he was to take his leave. The Counteſs told me the way to mend this, was to go to the Condé, and put the whole buſineſs in the King's hands, with this proteſtation, that he would rather ſtay ſeven years, than go without his Miſtreſs, he ſo much eſteemed her; and if I ſaw after, that this did not work good effects, that the Prince might come off, upon your Majeſty's command, at pleaſure. With this offer I went to the Condé, he received it but doggedly; the next day I deſired audience of the Infanta, to taſte her. I framed this errand from your Majeſty, that you had commanded me to give her a particular account of what you had done, and that you had overcome many difficulties to perſuade the Council to come into theſe articles, and that you yourſelf was come into them, merely in contemplation of her, and that you had given order for preſent execution, and ſince you had done thus much to get her, you made no queſtion but her virtues would perſuade you to do much more for her ſake. When I had done this, I told her of the Prince's reſolution, and aſſured her, that he never ſpoke of going, but with this end, to get her the ſooner away; but that hereafter he durſt uſe no diligences for her and himſelf, ſince he was ſubject to ſo ill offices, except ſhe would take this for granted, that he would never go without her, which ſhe liked very well of. When I had done this, I told her, ſince ſhe was the Prince's wife, all my thoughts was bent to gain her the love of that people whither ſhe was to go, and I ſhowed her how the articles contained no more than for the time to come; but there was many Catholics, who at this day were fined in the Exchequer, and though it would be ſome loſs to your Majeſty (though I think it would be none), yet, if ſhe

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would make a requeſt to the Prince for them, your Majeſty would quit it. I hope I have not done ill in this, but ſure I am, it hath not done ill to our buſineſs; for what with this, and that news of the ſending the four ſhips to Leith, this morning the Counteſs hath ſent the Prince this *recautho*, otherwiſe called meſſage, that the King, the Infanta, and the Condé, are the beſt contented that can be, and that he ſhould not now doubt his ſoon going away, and to carry the Infanta with him.

Sir, I cannot end this letter without recommending this bearer your ape, to your care, as any thing falls; Porter that came with us, will ſtand in great need alſo of your help, and in helping theſe two, you help me, who humbly crave your bleſſing.

Your Majeſty's ſlave and dog,

The 30th of July.

STEENIE.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.

Moſt gracious Patron,

Auguſt 5. SINCE my laſt to your Grace by Mr. Killegrew, there hath fallen ſome miſunderſtandings or diſputations, which have varied the ſtate of proceedings touching the execution of grace intended by his Majeſty to the Roman Catholics, and the ſatisfactory letters promiſed by the Ambaſſadors. By the copy of Mr. Secretary Calvert's letter to me, bearing date the 2d of this month, which I ſend herewith, your Grace will ſee what were the difficulties; and by the copy of the Ambaſſador's letter, you will ſee thoſe dry and cold paſſages which his Majeſty found to differ far from thoſe large and zealous offers they had made, of writing unto Spain, declared by a letter of Mr. Secretary Calvert's, of the laſt of July, whereof I now ſend your Grace a copy; though I conceive I ſent you one before, by Mr. Kil-

legrew, who went from hence the 2d of this month, with an intention to take thoſe effectual letters with him. The third of this inſtant, I received from Mr. Secretary, his letter of the ſecond, by which his Majeſty, finding that thoſe effectual letters were not written, nor intended to be prepared, but new diſputes raiſed, his Majeſty commanded me to write to ſtay Mr. Killegrew, which I inſtantly did, but whether thoſe letters came time enough to ſtay him or no, I know not yet. The ſame day Killegrew went from hence, the Ambaſſadors ſet forth hitherward, and arrived here the fourth, at two of the clock. Immediately, his Majeſty ſent my Lord Carliſle and myſelf, to them with inſtructions (after the compliment of welcome performed), to ſhow them the reaſons of the validity of the performance his Majeſty made of his promiſe, and of the weakneſs and invalidity of that they deſired: and then the inconvenience to his Majeſty, for reaſon of ſtate, to ſatisfy them in that kind, the proof of which was delivered thus.

His Majeſty having undertaken to give an immunity unto the Roman Catholics for the time to come, was afterwards drawn by the importunity of the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors (and by deſire and opinion to make a ſpeedy return of his ſon, with the accompliſhment of the marriage, and in the company of her Highneſs the Infanta), to give order for a pardon for all things paſt, that ſtood to the advantage of the King, and in his power to releaſe. And for the time to come, to give likewiſe (under his Majeſty's ſeal) a diſpenſation and immunity from all penal laws, ſtatutes, or ordinances whatſoever they were ſubject to, for their conſciences. And this, for the care his Majeſty had of the accompliſhment of his royal promiſe, which he would make ſure againſt himſelf, and his ſucceſſors, at all events. Which the Ambaſſadors having refuſed, propounding a proclamation, which was but a ſuſpenſion of the law, might be made void by another proclamation, and did not bind a ſucceſſor; and therefore his Majeſty knew not by what counſel they were carried

to

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to refuſe a full and good ſecurity, and in place thereof to propound a defective one. His Majeſty being very unwilling to make a conſtruction that the Ambaſſadors ſought delays here, to the end that, upon them, they might form delays in Spain, or that the Ambaſſadors would be carried with the variety, vain-glory, or malice of the Roman Catholics, to require things unſafe for them, and unproper for his Majeſty to grant, who beſt knew what were the beſt ſecurities for the making good of his word and oath, and what was moſt ſuitable with the peace of his government.

To this the Ambaſſadors anſwered, with ſuch doubts and arguments as they had gathered up from the ignorant, fearful, diſtruſtful Roman Catholics that had ſought them.

The reply to this was, that, if the Ambaſſadors knew the ſtrength of our laws, the authority, and inviolable dignity of a Great Seal, the roundneſs and integrity of his Majeſty's proceeding, and would but truly underſtand the unproperneſs of a proclamation, in point of government, they would be ill ſatisfied with thoſe that had caſt them upon that counſel: and then they might judge how much cauſe his Majeſty had to be diſpleaſed with thoſe that had puſhed at ſo great inconveniences, and been authors of ſo great a delay. And the better to rectify the Ambaſſadors' judgments and knowledge in this, it was propounded to them, that there were wiſe and judicious lawyers, that were well known to be Roman Catholics; that it was not doubted but that his Majeſty would be contented to permit one ſufficient man of thoſe (to be choſen by them) to look into the validity of the pardon for the things paſt, and of the diſpenſation of the things to come: and that it ſhould be lawful for that lawyer to attend his Majeſty's Attorney, and to give aſſiſtance and force, with all legal terms and proviſions, for their better ſecurity. And that concerning the proclamation, they might be pleaſed to know, that it was the judges, juſtices, and inferior officers, in whoſe power it was to proceed againſt, or to queſtion, or moleſt the Roman Catholics;

lics; and to all thoſe officers, the pardon, diſpenſation, and prohibition further to moleſt them, was to be directed: a proclamation was only to the vulgar people, who had no intereſt in the buſineſs, nor were capable of any thing but fear and rumour. And the Ambaſſadors were prayed (as men of eſtate) to judge whether it were more ſeaſonable, the Prince away, the marriage not made, the temporal conditions not publiſhed, to intimate this grace by proclamation, or to let it ſlide in by this more ſilent way of pardon and diſpenſation.

Here the Ambaſſadors gave a ſtop to themſelves, began to proteſt their care of the peace of the ſtate, and to recount the orations they had made to the Roman Catholics, to receive this Grace thankfully, as a mere grace of the King.

And here they let fall the pretence for a proclamation, and laid hold upon the offer of the ſecurity by pardon with the inſpection of a Counſellor; prayed that they might appoint one to ſolicit that Counſellor, and that the Counſellor, and the perſon to be ſent to him, might have warrant, by a letter from a Secretary of State, that his Majeſty would take well their endeavour in that buſineſs. And there remained no viſible exception, on the Ambaſſador's part, but the charge of a pardon, to which they had anſwer to ſatisfy them. And they being fully ſatisfied, the opportunity was not loſt to require them then to write preſently to the King of Spain, the full performance, on his Majeſty's part, and to ſolicit the ſpeedy accompliſhment of the bleſſed marriage, and the ſpeedy return of the Prince in the company of the excellent and happy Infanta.

To this we found a ready preparation in Don Carlo, and, it may not be ſaid a backward, but a cautious enquiry by the Marquis of Ignioza, for an anſwer to his propoſition, who, in concluſion, took occaſion to propound a paper drawn, of certain limitations, to which if his Majeſty would explain his conſent, under the hand of his Secretary, he would preſently write, to the uttermoſt extenſion, for the juſtifying

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juſtifying of his Majeſty's real and royal accompliſhment, and for the haſtening the concluſions in Spain. This paper was brought in by Mr. Gage, and withal, the form of the proclamation, and another paper of requeſts deſtined to be delivered to his Majeſty. The form of the proclamation was undoubtedly one of the moſt impertinent pieces that could be ſhewed.

For the paper of requeſts, it concerned Scotland, and Ireland, and received ſuch anſwers, as the Ambaſſadors ſeemed in very large meaſure to approve.

Since, we have heard nothing of it. For the paper of propoſitions, for his Majeſty to approve by his Secretary, my Lord Carliſle very judiciouſly ſuffered it to be received, to be preſented to his Majeſty, and approved by him, and in the mean time a proviſional promiſe made, that Mr. Gage ſhould be diſpatched to ſolicit the execution of the pardon, and an effectual letter written, if his Majeſty did approve of the propoſitions; which propoſitions (at their requeſt) were left in their hands, to be tranſlated into Engliſh, and delivered this morning; of which propoſitions I ſend your Grace a copy herewith. I inſtantly repreſented them to his Majeſty, who commanded me to wait upon my Lord Carliſle again to the Ambaſſadors; and to us his Majeſty gave inſtructions upon theſe two exceptions: the one concerning the compoſition made with recuſants for forfeitures, and given away by patent to others, and was not now in the power of his Majeſty no more to take from them, than to take back any land he had granted by patent, or than that it ſhould be poſſible for him to make void theſe pardons and acts of grace to the Roman Catholics, to be paſſed under the Great Seal. But his Majeſty was well pleaſed, that, ſince he took off them all the penal ſtatutes, by which they were made liable to theſe things, if they could by pleading by law prove, that the cauſe being taken away, the effect ceaſed, they ſhould have equal juſtice. With this they quieted themſelves.

The

The other point was, concerning the declaration, that ſcholars ſhould be admitted into ſchools and colleges, without having any oaths adminiſtered unto them. JAMES I. 1623.

To this, his Majeſty excepted, as a thing of a tender and dangerous interpretation for his honour and conſtancy, that he ſhould not only at one inſtant give unexpected grace and immunity to his ſubjects the Roman Catholics, but ſeem to endeavour to plant a ſeminary of other religion than he made profeſſion of. But it was enough that his Majeſty took off all penalties from them, ſo as they ſtood in poſſibility to be admitted by grace, if they would not take the oaths, or otherwiſe they might forbear entering into univerſities; but ſuch as could gently paſs in by favour, according to the example of many that do ſo now.

The Marquis of Ignioza anſwered, that all penalties were not taken off them, for the penalty of ſhame remained upon them, that they could not be capable of offices equally with other men.

The reply to that was, that there was no ſhame but what the laws had impoſed: that the laws, by the King's grace, were taken away, and taken away with more advantage to them, than the Proteſtants were left in.

For if a perſon capable of any preferment, deſired a place or office, if the King, or other perſon that had power to beſtow the place accepted him, he could not be refuſed for not taking the oaths; for grace hath ſuſpended them for the Roman Catholics, but not to the Proteſtants.

This, and the reſt, coſt many more arguments, the clearing of which received good aſſiſtance by the diſcretion and moderation of Mr. Gage, who ſometimes aſſiſted the clearing of points by good interpretation, ſometimes by bearing witneſs to the truth of the allegations concerning formalities, and condition of our ſtate and law. But with all the aids, the Marquis of Ignioza found himſelf troubled, his reaſon convicted, that his Majeſty did accompliſh to the full, whatſoever he was obliged to by the articles, or his royal promiſe;

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and yet that was ſhort of what the Marquis deſired to gain, to magnify himſelf by, in the way of ſupererogation. But being finally preſſed judiciouſly to examine how punctually his Majeſty had accompliſhed all that he was tied to by the articles and more, for the contemplation of haſtening the concluſion of this bleſſed buſineſs, and the joyful coming of thoſe excellent Perſonages hither; and that he would in goodneſs think this delay too long, and juſtly write that his Majeſty had fully accompliſhed all his part to be done; and add to it this good office of preſſing a ſpeedy conſummation of the marriage in Spain, and ſpeedy coming of their Highneſſes together; to this he anſwered with an earneſt (almoſt a choleric) frankneſs, that he ought and would write, that the King had fulfilled every jot of that he was bound to, and more; but wherein more (though he would write into Spain) he would not tell us; but added withal, that he would write, that though the King had performed all, yet the Catholics were left by the negligence committed by the Council of Spain, without poſſibility to be poſſeſſed of offices.

The reply to this ſhowed him, from the arguments before, that judgment was ill grounded, and that if he ſhould write ſo into Spain (whereof there was no neceſſity), it might be a miſinformation, and yet cauſe queſtion and delay in the proceedings.

From hence the Marquis took occaſion to breath out many proteſtations of his roundneſs, pureneſs in this buſineſs, and equal faith to both Kings; profeſſing it to have been, before he came out of Spain, his judgment and his counſel (wherein he was now more fortified), that the advantage of Spain, was to conſummate the match ſpeedily, and alike to haſten the return of their Highneſſes into England.

And although he waved the diſpatch of his letters into Spain from hence, by an argument of what ill ſpirits may philoſophy upon it, yet he vowed upon the croſs of the Lord Carliſle's ſword, and by all the rights and bounds of heaven and honour, that he would haſte to

London, haſte the diſpatch of the pardon, ſend a copy of it, and with it his letters of celebration of his Majeſty's royal performance in every tittle; and warrants there ſhould be no delay, concurring with his many former letters to that effect. JAMES I. 1623.

This narration his Majeſty hath commanded me to make thus particularly and largely, that his Highneſs and you might, by ſight of the whole frame, judge of the perfection or imperfection of the building. And I have forborn the form, of this my Lord of Carliſle ſaid, or this I ſaid, not of ambition to ſlide myſelf into equality with him; but well knowing whatſoever I ſhould call his, would not look like his, wanting both life and his poliſhing. But this I truly ſay, whatſoever is good and effectual, is his, and mine nothing but the faults.

And this I will as truly ſay, this cauſe is dear to all England, and as precious I believe to us two, as to any two in England.

Your Grace may be pleaſed, even of your grace, to preſent my ſervice to his Highneſs, to whom that I never write, is only of reverence; and alike to vouchſafe my acknowledgment of what I am, is by you, and for you, as I am by humble affection and faith,

Your Grace's, &c.

EDWARD CONWAY.

Saliſbury,
Auguſt 5th, 1623.

Secretary Conway to the Duke of Buckingham.

August 6th.

Gracious Patron,

THE Lord Carliſle being appointed to marſhal the train of the Ambaſſadors in this day's hunting, required me to preſent his ſervice to your Grace, and in his name to beſeech you to reſerve from the eyes and knowlege of all men but his Highneſs, the poſtſcript of his Majeſty's letter, as you tender an humble, faithful, active ſervant of yours, until you ſhall have ample knowledge of all the circumſtances of that information.

Since the finiſhing of my exorbitant narration, Mr. Gage hath been with me to propound a meeting between the Ambaſſadors, the Lord Carliſle and myſelf, to accord upon ſome limitations of the matters to be comprehended in the pardon and diſpenſation, which being done, and put under our hands, the Marquis will write the effectual letters ſo often mentioned, for the aſſurance of the full accompliſhment of all on his Majeſty's part, and haſtening of the match.

I have acquainted his Majeſty with the propoſition, and his Majeſty readily approves it, and your Grace may be confident, all poſſible to be done, ſhall be done, that may haſten his Highneſs's return, and yours, in which my intereſt is no leſs, than happy, or unhappy.

I have not time to clear myſelf to your Grace; but, thus, I am ſometimes perplexed, not being able of your friends to conceive which is to be preferred. I muſt believe all that profeſs it, and love them for that; but want trials to diſcern farther, having leſs commodity to do that, than others; becauſe I never uſe a maſk to ſhadow whoſe I am, and deſire not to know, under the ſeal of friendſhip, that which I cannot conceal with mine own integrity. And that all profeſs

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ſeſs to you, is no marvel, for the conſtancy of our maſter's affection to you, is enough to keep the crooked ſtraight.

When your Grace ſhall think it fit to inſtruct my faith and induſtry, there is nothing ſo longed for as your commandments.

It ſeems, upon the marriage, it will be fit, that ſome qualified perſon be ſent to give the *Parabien*; and it is poſſible the Lord Carliſle his eye is upon it, and for ought I can ſee, there is none more proper for your ſervice; if it be not ſo, the faireſt way (by your Grace's pardon) is, to find it ſuperfluous to ſend any. If theſe kind officiouſneſſes be too much, God and your Grace forgive it, for it comes of humble faith and duty, from

Your Grace's, &c.

Saliſbury, the 6th of Auguſt, 1623.

EDWARD CONWAY.

King James to the Prince and Duke.

My ſweet Boys,

I WRITE to you now upon the good fifth day of Auguſt *, in the afternoon. Secretary Calvert's moving the Ambaſſadors to have a ſight or copy of what they wrote, hath produced this effect, that I find their letters leaner and drier than either I expected or deſerved. What courſe I have taken with them hereupon, at their coming hither to this feaſt, Secretary Conway's letter will inform you at large. To be ſhort, I have given order to put in execution, all that I have promiſed, and more; as themſelves confeſs, and had been done before this time, if themſelves, by new unreaſonable motions, had not hindered it. And thus much more than I promiſed have I granted unto them, at their earneſt ſuit, which is, a diſcharge of all debts already owing to me by recuſants; and therefore, if they caſt up now the great dowry that they are to give, remember that, by

Auguſt 5.

* James honoured the 5th of Auguſt, with his eſcape from Earl Gowrie, at Perth, on a ſolemn annual thankſgiving, on account of that day, in 1600.

this

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this deed, I quit ſix and thirty thouſand pounds of good rent, in England and Ireland; which, in good account, will ſtrike down the third part at leaſt of their dowry. If Killegrew be not already gone, he will deliver this letter unto you; but if he be gone, Clark will give you it, who ſhall immediately be diſpatched after the ſealing of that pardon and privy ſeal which is preſently to be drawn up. I have no more to ſay, but if you haſten you not home, I apprehend I ſhall never ſee you, for my extreme longing will kill me; but God bleſs you both, my ſweet boys, upon this good day; and he that delivered me from ſo great a danger upon it, preſerve you, and grant you a ſpeedy, happy, and comfortable return in the arms of your dear Dad. Amen. Amen. Amen.

JAMES, R.

Carliſle hath told me a tale of this Marquis, that ſhews him to be a ſlim man; and my Steenie's ſmall friend; and the Devil take them all that are ſo, except my Baby, who I know can never love Steenie; but in earneſt he broke off a crafty diſcourſe to Carliſle, but he choaked him ſo ſoon; therefore keep this to yourſelves till ye hear more of it.

Secretary Calvert to Secretary Conway.

SIR,

Auguſt 8th. I HAVE at this inſtant received from you a new *reveille-matin* about the fleet, and would be glad to know of you in particular what I am to do more than I have done, which if I knew, I were unworthy to live, if I did not give his Majeſty all contentment, by my humble and diligent endeavours. I have told you often, that I cannot learn from the commiſſioners of the navy here, that any thing is demanded for her ſetting forth, except victuals; and that I had ſpoken

ſpoken with Sir Allen Apſley, who aſſured me that all ſhould be ready and aboard by to-morrow; ſo as there ſhall not need any other courſe to be taken now by making proviſions out of the merchants ſhips.

I have alſo ſpoken again this morning with Mr. Coke, who tells me that the commiſſioners of the navy had Sir Allen Apſley before them on Wedneſday laſt, and then aſſured them the like, that longer than to-morrow the ſhip of victual ſhould not ſtay, unleſs the wind hindered her, which I hope ſhall not. To be ſurer, he ſhall be called upon again this day. It is not poſſible to do more, for any thing I can ſee. When this victual comes about to Portſmouth, then will there be no cauſe for the fleet to ſtay an hour, for any thing I know, unleſs you hear any new complaints from my Lord of Rutland, which we know not here, being nearer to you than us.

8th Auguſt.

King James to the Prince.

My deareſt Son,

I SENT you a commandment long ago, not to loſe time where ye are, but either to bring quickly home your miſtreſs, which is my earneſt deſire, but if no better may be, rather than to linger any longer there, to come without her; which, for many important reaſons I am now forced to renew; and therefore I charge you, upon my bleſſing, to come quickly, either with her or without her. I know your love to her perſon hath enforced you to delay the putting in execution of my former commandment. I confeſs it is my chiefeſt worldly joy that ye love her; but the neceſſity of my affairs enforceth me to tell you, that you muſt prefer the obedience to a father, to the love ye carry to a miſtreſs. And ſo God bleſs you. Auguſt 10th.

Cranbourn,
the 10th of Auguſt, 1623.

JAMES, R.

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Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

August 20. THE cauſe why we have altered our Secretary is, that I your Baby will not let your Dog trouble himſelf with writing, becauſe he has been of late troubled with a great cold, with a little fit of an ague, for which he was drawn blood, but now, thanks be to God, he is perfectly well. Cottington arrived here the fifth of this month late at night, whoſe coming, we hoped, would have made a great alteration to the better in our buſineſs; but we find that they here believe the Marquis Inoyoſa's intelligence, better than all your Majeſty's real proceedings; but we beſeech you take no notice to the Marquis of Inoyoſa of his juggling (for he has written hither, contrary to his profeſſions), until we wait upon you. The cauſe why we have been ſo long unwriting to you, ſince Cottington's coming, is, that we would try all means poſſible (before we would ſend you word), to ſee if we could move them to ſend the Infanta before winter. They, for form's ſake, called the Divines, and they ſtick to their old reſolution; but we find by circumſtances, that conſcience is not the true, but ſeeming cauſe, of the Infanta's ſtay. To conclude, we have wrought what we can, but ſince we cannot have her with us that we deſired, our next comfort is, that we hope ſhortly to kiſs your Majeſty's hands.

Sir, We have been informed by my Lord of Briſtol, that, by the French Ambaſſador's means, the Spaniſh Ambaſſador has ſeen all the letters that we have written to you, and that you are betrayed in your bed-chamber. So craving your bleſſing, we reſt,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Sir,

Sir, I have been the willinger to let your ſon play the Secretary at this time of little need, that you may thereby ſee the extraordinary care he hath of me, for which I will not intreat you not to love him the worſe, nor him that threatens you, that when he once gets hold of your bed-poſt again, never to quit it. JAMES I 1623.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog.

STEENIE.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

THIS day we take our leaves; to-morrow we begin our journey; we leave our buſineſſes thus. This Pope being ſick (as they ſay here), hath not yet given power for the delivery of the diſpenſation, upon the capitulations agreed upon, wherefore they not being able (though many Divines ſay the contrary) to contract me your Baby, until that power come from Rome, and they not having uſed us with thoſe realities, as to encourage us to rely longer upon uncertainties, I your Baby have thought fit to leave my promiſe to the King in my Lord of Briſtol's hands, to deliver it when that power comes from Rome. As for the buſineſs of the Palatinate (now that we have preſt them to it), we have diſcovered theſe two impediments; firſt, they ſay, they have no hope to accommodate it, without the marriage of your grandchild with the Emperor's daughter; but though we know you will like the propoſition of the marriage, yet we know not how either you, or your ſon-in-law and daughter*, will like it with this condition, that your grandchild be bred up in the Emperor's court. The ſecond is, that though they are content to reſtore him to all his lands, and his ſon to both lands and honour, Auguſt 30th.

* King and Queen of Bohemia.

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yet they will not engage themſelves to reſtore himſelf to honours, but have it left to their mediation and courteſy; and how the firſt point will be obtained of the father, when they will diſcontent him in the latter, we leave you to judge. For the jointure and temporal articles, we will be able (when we ſhall be ſo happy as to kiſs your Majeſty's hands) to give you a perfect account; in the mean time we crave your bleſſing, and end.

Your Majeſty's humble and obedient ſon and ſervant,

CHARLES.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

Madrid, the 29th of Auguſt 1623.

STEENIE.

The Infanta to King James.

SIR,

Auguſt 30th. I WAS very glad to receive the letter your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to ſend me, by which your Majeſty ſhoweth a good-will and affection to me: and although in both theſe things I do correſpond with equal degree and meaſure, yet I do acknowledge the favour, and with a deſire to have ſome occaſion to ſatisfy (as far as is in my power), to ſo great an obligation; being alſo anſwerable to this, the good pleaſure of the King, my Lord and Brother, who loveth and eſteems your Majeſty ſo highly, as alſo all that belongeth to your Majeſty. God ſave your Majeſty, as I deſire.

Madrid, the 30th of Auguſt, 1623.

Your Majeſty's moſt affectionate,

MARIA.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

THIS bearer hath ſtaid for the Infanta's and other letters, a day longer than was reſolved of, which hath given me this occaſion, by ſtealth from your Baby, to aſſure your Majeſty, by this laſt night's reſt, of my perfect recovery. Nothing dejected me ſo much in my ſickneſs, as my abſence from you; nor nothing was ſo great a cordial to me in my recovery, as this thought, that in a few days we ſhall ſtep towards you; yet I beſeech your Majeſty to believe this truth, that I ſo far prefer this buſineſs, and your ſervice, before any particular of my own, that this reſolution hath not been taken with precipitation, but when we ſaw there was no more to be gained here, we thought it then high time with all diligence to gain your preſence. Sir, my heart and very ſoul dances for joy; for the change will be no leſs than to leap from trouble to eaſe, from ſadneſs to mirth, nay, from hell to heaven. I cannot now think of giving thanks for friend, wife, or child; my thoughts are only bent of having my dear Dad and Maſter's legs ſoon in my arms; which ſweet Jeſus grant me, and your Majeſty all health and happineſs; ſo I crave your bleſſing. Sept. 1ſt.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

The 1ſt of September.

STEENIE.

SIR,

I'll bring all things with me you have deſired, except the Infanta, which hath almoſt broken my heart, becauſe your's, your ſon's, and the nation's honour is touched by the miſs of it; but ſince it is their fault here and not ours, we will bear it the better; and when I ſhall have the happineſs to lie at your feet, you ſhall then know the truth of all, and no more.

Prince Charles to the Pope.

Sanctiſſime Pater,

LITERAS S^tis^. V. vigeſimo Aprilis 1623 Romæ datas, tantâ animi gratitudine et obſervantiâ accepimus, quantâ cum benevolentia pioque affectu videntur exaratæ: nobiſque imprimis grata fuere illa, quibus uti placuerit S^ti^. V. incitamenta à nunquam ſatis laudatis nobiliſſimorum majorum noſtrorum exemplis petita, qui anteactis ſeculis nunquam parati magis exitere advitæ capitiſque diſcrimen adverſus hoſtes Chriſti nomini infeſtos ultro ſubeundum, quo ſacro ſanctum ipſius cultum latius propagarent, quam nos hoc tempore (quo inveterata Satanæ, diſcordiarum patris, malitia obtinuit tantum, ut diſſidia admodum infelicia inter illos ipſos, qui religionem Chriſtianam profitentur, longè latèque diſſeminaverit), ad omnem opem atque operam ſedulò adhibendam, ut eccleſia Dei aliquando reconcilietur, atque ad priſtinam pacem et unitatem denuò reducatur: quod pro primo ſemper gradu ac paſſu tantique momenti eſſe habuimus, ut vel maximè conferat ad ſacroſanctum Domini et Salvatoris noſtri Jeſu Chriſti nomen ac gloriam fælicius in terris promovendam: quod non minori nobis honori futurum ducemus, progenitorum noſtrorum veſtigiis prementes, in tam piis et religioſis ſuſceptis eorundem imitatores extitiſſe, quam ab iiſdem genus noſtrum et originem deduxiſſe: ad quod nos plurimum hortantur præcepta domini noſtri regis, ac patris mei propenſio, et vehemens admodum quo flagrat deſiderium huic tam ſancto operi manum porrigere auxiliatricem: nec non intimus animi dolor, quo commovetur, dum ſecum contemplatur deplorandas ſtrages et calamitates, quæ a ſimultatibus et diſſenſionibus inter principes Chriſtianos exortis paſſim producuntur. Nec illud porro judicium, quod S^ti^. V. viſum eſt facere de eo, quod nos tenemur deſiderio, cum Principe Catholicâ Romanâ matrimonium contrahendi, a S^tis^. V. ſapientiâ atque charitate diſſonum omnino

eſt

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eſt aut alienum, ſiquidem, uti a S. V. rite obſervatum eſt, vix aut ne vix quidem tanto, quo fruimur, ſtudio cuperemus tam arcto et indiſſolubili propinquitatis vinculo cum cujuſdam perſonâ conjungi, cujus religionem odio et deteſtationi haberemus. Sed S. V. hoc ſibi perſuaſum habeat, eam noſtram eſſe, ſemperque in poſterum futuram, moderationem; ut non ſolam quam longiſſimè à nobis ſuſpicionem omnem removebimus, atque ab omni demum actu temperabimus, qui aliquam præ ſe ſpeciem ferat nos à Romanâ Catholicâ religione abhorrere, ſed omnes potius captabimus occaſiones, quò leni benignoque rerum proceſſu ſiniſtræ omnes ſuſpiciones è medio penitus tollantur: ut ſicut omnes unam et individuam Trinitatem, et unicum Chriſtum crucifixum publicè profitemur, ita in unam tantummodo fidem, in eccleſiam unam unanimiter coaleſcamus. Quod ut effectum demus, labores omnes et vigilias, et quodcunque itidem periculum, quod inde rebus noſtris aut perſonæ poterit imminere, ſi facto opus erit, parvi pendemus. Quod reliquum eſt, S^ti. V. gratias, quas poſſumus maximas, pro literis veſtris, quas inſignis muneris loco habemus, referentes, S^ti. V. proſpera omnia, æternamque fælicitatem comprecamur *.

* There are ſeveral copies of this remarkable letter in the hiſtorians; the above was tranſcribed from the original draught. Lord Clarendon ſays very properly of it, writing to Secretary Nicholas from Jerſey, "The letter to the Pope is, by your favour, "more than compliment; and may be a "warning that nothing is to be done or ſaid "in that nice argument but what will bear "the light."

See Lord Chancellor Clarendon's State-Papers, vol. ii. p. 337.

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* *Duke of Buckingham to King James.*

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

IT cannot but have been an infinite trouble to have written ſo long a letter and ſo ſoon, eſpecially at this painful time of your arms; yet wiſh I not a word omitted, though the reading forced bluſhes, deſerving them no better, neither is it fit I ſhould ever diſſemble with my maſter. Wherefore I confeſs truly I am not a jot ſorry for the pains you have taken; this might argue I love myſelf better than my Maker, but my diſobedience in this, with my humble obedience in all my future actions, ſhall witneſs the contrary; and I can boldly ſay it is not in the power of your large bountiful hand and heart ever hereafter either to increaſe my duty and love to you, or to overvalue myſelf as you do, by thinking it fit I ſhould be ſet ſo far above my fellows †. There is this difference betwixt that noble hand and heart, one may ſurfeit by the one, but not by the other, and ſooner by yours than his own; therefore give me leave to ſtop, with mine, that hand which hath been but too ready to execute the motions and affections of that kind obliging heart to me. As for that argument that this can be no leading caſe to others, give me leave to ſay, it is true only in one (but that is a great and the main) point; for I grant that I am more than confident, you will never love none of your ſervants, (I will be ſaucy here) better than Steenie; thus it will be no leading. But you cannot deny but it may be a precedent of emulation hereafter, to thoſe that ſhall ſucceed you, to expreſs as much love as you have done to me; and I am ſure they may eaſily find many fitter ſubjects. So if it be unfit in reſpect of the number, this way it will be increaſed; but I maintain it is unfit in reſpect there is not here, as in other places,

* This letter, plainly relating to Buckingham's being made a Duke, was certainly writ from Spain. His ducal patent bore date May 18th, 1623.

† Here follows a line and a half blotted out.

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a diſtinction betwixt Dukes and King's children; and before I make a or a ſtep to that parity between them and other ſubjects, I'll diſobey you, which is the moſt I can ſay or do. I have not ſo much unthankfulneſs, to deny what your Majeſty ſaith, that my former excuſe of the diſproportion of my eſtate is taken away; for you have filled a conſuming purſe, given me fair houſes, more land than I am worthy of, to maintain both me and them, filled my coffers ſo full with patents of honour, that my ſhoulders cannot bear more; this I ſay is ſtill a great argument for me to refuſe, but you have not been contented to reſt here, when I thought you had done more than enough, and as much as you could * but hath found out a way, which to my heart's ſatisfaction, is far beyond all; for with this letter, you have furniſhed my cabinet with ſo precious a witneſs of your valuation of me, as in future times it cannot be ſaid, that I riſe, as moſt courtiers do, through importunity. For which character of me, and incomparable favour from you, I will ſign, with as contented, nay as proud a heart,

Your poor STEENIE,

as Duke of Buckingham.

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†*Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.*

STEENIE,

1624. April 26th.

I SEND you here incloſed the interrogatories that the King thinks fit ſhould be aſked concerning the malicious accuſations of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador. As for the way, my father is reſolved (if you do not gainſay it, and ſhow reaſon to the contrary) to take the oaths himſelf, and to make Secretary Calvert, and the Chancellor of

* Follows half a line blotted.

† The following letters were writ after the return of the Prince and the Duke to England.

the

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the Exchequer, to take the examinations in writing under their hands that are examined; thus much is by the King's command. Now for my opinion, it is this, that you can incur no danger in this, but by oppoſing the King's proceedings in it, to make him ſuſpect that you have ſpoken ſomewhat that you are unwilling he ſhould hear of; for I cannot think that any man is ſo mad, as to call his own head in queſtion, by making a lye againſt you, when all the world knows me to be your true friend, and if they tell but the truth, I know they can ſay but what the King knows, that you have avowed to all the world, which is, that you think, as I do, that the continuance of theſe treaties with Spain might breed us much miſchief; wherefore my advice to you is, that you do not oppoſe, or ſhow yourſelf diſcontented at the King's courſe herein, for I think that it will be ſo far from doing you hurt, that it will make you trample under your feet, thoſe few poor raſcals that are your enemies. Now, ſweetheart, if you think I am miſtaken in my judgment in this, let me know what I can do in this, or any thing elſe, to ſerve thee, and then thou ſhalt ſee that all the world ſhall daily know more and more, that I am and ever will be,

Your faithful loving conſtant friend,

April 26th, 1624. CHARLES, P.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

STEENIE,

THIS day the Lower Houſe has given the King a ſubſidy, and are likewiſe reſolved to ſend a meſſage, humbly to entreat him to end this ſeſſion before Chriſtmas. I confeſs that this that they have done, is not ſo great a matter, that the King need to be indulgent over them for it; yet on the other ſide (for his reputation abroad at this time), I would not wholly diſcontent them: therefore my opinion is, that

that the King ſhould grant them a ſeſſion at this time, but withal I would have him command them not to ſpeak any more of Spain, whether it be of that war, or my marriage. JAMES I. 1624.

This, in my opinion, does neither ſuffer them to encroach upon the King's authority, nor give them juſt cauſe of diſcontentment: I think you will find that all thoſe of the Council that the King truſts moſt, are likewiſe of this mind. Sir Edward Cecil writ me a letter from the army, of much ſtuff, but it was of faſhion; the moſt of the letter was of reaſons why the King ſhould enter into a war for the defence of the Palatinate, and truſt no more treaties, but the end of it was, that he might be employed in it. Now, in earneſt, I wiſh the gentleman well, but yet I would not have Sir Horace Vere (who has both endured ſo much miſery, and done ſo good ſervice there), either to be diſcouraged or diſgraced: therefore I think the King ſhall do well to employ Cecil, but I would not have him come over the other's head. So praying you to commend my humble ſervice to the King I reſt,

Yours more than can be expreſſed,

and as much as can be thought,

CHARLES, P.

King James to the Duke of Buckingham.

My ſweet dear child, ſcholar, and friend,

ST. Paul thou knoweſt commands us to examine ourſelves, before we go to the ſacrament, but yet he commands to go and receive it; ſo though I put thee in mind to ſpeak as thou promiſed to the Spaniſh Agent, yet did ſurely expect thy coming here this night. Thou may make the big rich man bring him hither to thee, or thou may

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take occaſion to go any day in this week to dine at London, and meet with him there, if he cannot be brought to thee to-morrow morning. Alas, ſweet heart, I find by this how preciſe thou art to keep thy word to me, when thou prefers it to thy own greateſt comfort in coming to me; God reward thee for it, but I muſt quarrel thee, that though in both my former letters I prayed thee to bring the with thee, thou haſt not ſo much as ſent me word whether they can come or not; I would gladly have them here, but howe'er it be, fail not to be here thyſelf to-morrow, before ſupper-time. And ſo God bleſs thee and all thine to the comfort of thy dear Dad.

JAMES, R.

Your old Purveyor ſends you a kid for your dinner to-morrow, and thou ſhall find another here.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.

STEENIE,

HIS Majeſty likes the laſt letter better than the firſt, only it has two faults where the other has but one. In the firſt it has only this, that it binds his Majeſty to a promiſe, that if any of his Majeſty's Popiſh ſubjects offend, he muſt let the Pope know of it before he puniſh them, which ye may remember upon the inditing of the letter his Majeſty ſays he ſtuck upon; and the ſecond error in the new letter is, that his Majeſty wiſhes the Pope to expel the Jeſuits by order. Now, his Majeſty leaves the ordinary form of doing it to the Pope, by his own ordinary ways; his Majeſty hath nothing ado to teach him by what order to do it; he has likewiſe put in the laſt letter before the ſubſcription, *S. V. devotiſſimus*; whereas, in his Majeſty's letter to the former Pope, there was nothing written but his

Majeſty's

Majeſty's name. He likewiſe, in one place at leaſt of the ſecond letter, omits to put in *Romanos* after *Catholicos*. Now, ye know, my father has ever ſtood upon it, both by word and write, that he is as good a Catholic as the Pope himſelf; therefore ſince they take to themſelves the ſtile of Catholic Roman, let them brook it a God's name, he will not ſcant them of a ſyllable of it. I will ſpeak to Secretary Conway for a paſs for Robert Watſon, but by this ye may ſee, that, of neceſſity, the letter muſt be written over again before his Majeſty can ſign it, which he prays you that it may be done with all ſpeed poſſible; and as for your letter to the Cardinal, he likes very well of it. As for the requeſt ye make his Majeſty to delay his journey to Royſton; he ſays ye play the part of a crafty courtier, that where an inch is given you, ye would fain win a ſpan; for, in earneſt, he ſays it will be far againſt his heart to ſtay at Theobalds, where he can have no reception, but to doil up and down the park, for there is no kind of field-hawking there; and beſides, while the ſeaſon is yet ſweet and hares of breath, his Majeſty can with eaſe begin that exerciſe, which he cannot do ſo well when it is later in the year; and as for your part, if ye ſhall not be ready to go with him to Theobalds, according to his many warnings of you, and your promiſe to him, he can take no pleaſure to be there, and he ſays that ye abſolutely promiſed to go with him at his back coming. As for my part, I hope to be able to follow him quickly, howſoever I ſhould be loth that he ſhould ſtay for me; his Majeſty intends likewiſe to write to you tomorrow morning. So in haſte I reſt

Your faithful conſtant loving friend,

CHARLES, P.

JAMES I. 1624.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

NOTWITHSTANDING this unfavourable interpretation I find made of a thankful and loyal heart, in calling my words crude Catonic words, in obedience to your commands, I will tell the Houſe of Parliament, that you having been upon the fields this afternoon, have taken ſuch a fierce rheum and cough, as not knowing how you will be this night, you are not yet able to appoint them a day of hearing; but I will forbear to tell them, that, notwithſtanding of your cold, you were able to ſpeak with the King of Spain's inſtruments, though not with your own ſubjects. All I can ſay is, you march ſlowly towards your own ſafety, thoſe that depend of you. I pray God at laſt you may attain to it, otherwiſe I ſhall take little comfort in wife or child, though now I am ſuſpected to look more to the riſing ſun, than my Maker.

Sir, hitherto I have tied myſelf to a punctual anſwer of yours; if I ſhould give myſelf leave to ſpeak my own thoughts, they are ſo many, that though the quality of them ſhould not grieve you, coming from one you wilfully and unjuſtly deject, yet the number of them are ſo many, that I ſhould not give over till I had troubled you; therefore I will tie myſelf to that, which ſhall be my laſt and ſpeedy refuge, to pray the Almighty to increaſe your joys, and qualify the ſorrows of your Majeſty.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

AS neceſſity enforces me, inſtead of repairing to you, according to your command, and my promiſe, to go many miles from you another way, and conſequently from myſelf; all my perfecteſt joys and pleaſures chiefly, nay ſolely conſiſting in attending your perſon; ſo methinks duty and good manners command me, on the other part, to give you an account under my own hand, though it be yet ſomething unſteady and weak. But before I give the reaſons of the change of my former reſolution; there is a thing not much in exerciſe now in the world, called thankfulneſs, that calls ſo faſt and earneſtly upon me, that I muſt firſt, though I have already done it by the aſſiſtance of a young Nobleman called Baby Charles, whom you likewiſe by your good offices made my friend, who, without all doubt, hath already perfectlier made my thanks, than I ſhall myſelf; yet having the pen in my hand, I muſt needs tell you what I obſerve in your late abſent and public favour, but ancient manner of obliging your poor unworthy ſervant, whereby I find you ſtill one and the ſame dear and indulgent maſter you were ever to me, never being contented to overvalue, and love me yourſelf, but to labour all manner of ways, to make the whole world do ſo to me. Beſides, this aſſures me, you truſt me as abſolutely as ever, largely expreſt in this, that you have no conceit of my popularity; otherwiſe, why ſhould you thus ſtudy to endear me with the Upper and Lower Houſe of Parliament, and ſo conſequently with your whole kingdom? All, and the leaſt I can ſay is this: That I naturally ſo love your perſon, and, upon ſo good experience and knowledge, adore all your other parts, which are more than ever one man had, that were not only

JAMES I. 1624.

all your people, but all the world beſides, ſet together on one ſide, and you alone on the other, I ſhould, to obey and pleaſe you, diſpleaſe, nay deſpiſe all them; and this ſhall be ever my popularity. Give me leave here, to uſe your own proverb, *For this the devil cone me no thanks**. The reaſons of my going to Newhall are theſe, Firſt, I find buſineſs and the ſight of buſy folk does me much harm, and though your extraordinary care and watchful eye over me, would keep them from ſpeaking to me, yet in a court I muſt needs look many of them in the face. Then Theobalds houſe is now very hot, and hath but few change of rooms; both inconvenient to a ſick body. Then my Lord of Warwick tells me, that, by experience, he hath found Newhall air as good a one to ride away an ague, as any in England, and that lately he loſt one, by the benefit of that air: I mean near hand, which I think will be all one. By this time, I fear I have troubled you, and were it not that I write to you, I am ſure I ſhould have wearied myſelf. I have now only one requeſt to you; as you firſt planted me in your Baby Charles's good opinion, if you think it fit for your ſervice, in my abſence continue me in it. And ſo give me your bleſſing.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

* This is a very different ſtyle, from that in a ſubſequent letter, where he takes the popular ſide againſt the King's.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

THOUGH I writ laſt night, yet I think it not amiſs to add one word more, to expreſs myſelf more particularly. My Lord Maxwell is arrived, and hath aſſured me, having had it out of the Pope's own mouth, that the diſpenſation is granted free, and unclogged. He further adds, that after he had, in a rough manner, ſpoke with the Nuncio at Paris, inſomuch that he told him he would complain of him preſently in a letter to his Holineſs, he anſwered him calmly thus, and with ſome expreſſion of fear, That he ſhould do it; that if he would but have a little patience, he would quickly go through the buſineſs, and have no cauſe to complain. All this I have told Fiatt, but under the roſe. I likewiſe told him you reproached to me, where is your glorious match with France and your royal frank Monſieurs? I told him alſo, I had order to ſet a ſhort day for the aſſembling of the Parliament, and that you had commanded me, if the Spaniſh Agent came to viſit me, that I ſhould, upon pain of your diſpleaſure, not only uſe him civilly, but kindly. He anſwered me impatiently and confuſedly, What, cannot one make a trial of gaining better and more advantageous conditions, without an intention to break? Whereupon I told him I did not think there was one occaſion, beſides the ties of honour or honeſty, would give them leave; but I was ſorry and aſhamed, that ſo unſeaſonably, after all things was performed to their deſire, nay more than they could have imagined, witneſs the aſſiſtance of ſhipping, the hearty profeſſions of my maſter, as well by letter, as thoſe verbal compliments he ſent by Monſieur La Riviere, and now, at the time when acknowledgements at the leaſt, if not requitals, ſhould come, with greedy gluttonous appetites to ſeek to ſurfeit on the forbidden tree, can re-

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ceive no cleanlier an interpretation, than to have come from an unreaſonable, unjuſt, falſe and unmannerly appetite; and thus you have ended *avec bone bouche:* but I thought in my mind ſhitten mouths. I pray you, Sir, do not kiſs that word, nor bewray, for want of bold and abſolute language, a good buſineſs. I ended with Monſieur thus; your maſter acknowledges he hath already the ſubſtance of what he deſires, though I know the contrary. The Pope is to receive ſatisfaction, not from my maſter but yours. Now then let every man act his own natural proper part. Spain muſt really be cozened; let the Pope do that, ſince he can as well pardon himſelf, as all the world. The Pope ſeemingly muſt be cozened; let France do that, who hath the title of the moſt Chriſtian King, and ſo may the eaſilier obtain a pardon: my maſter will neither be cozened, nor cozen. Wherefore the moſt Chriſtian King muſt, moſt conſcionably, undertake to his Holineſs, for as much as may cozen Spain, France, and Rome; who may not, for their union, be called the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt. Sir, I will weary your patience with one word more, if you pleaſe: treat as little as may be, and roundly let the Ambaſſador know, you ſo much prize your honour, that neither in a circumſtance, nor form, will you make an alteration, and ſet your Ambaſſadors a ſettled, ſhort, peremptory day, for an anſwer; if it prove good, I ſhall be as ſoon ready to go from hence, as it can be to come hither; if ill, then let your Ambaſſadors as ſpeedily come away; for never admit of new journies to Rome, neither doth it need. I will end with Mall's compliment to me; Lord Father, I love you well. Lord Father I will die for you. So I crave your bleſſing, as

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE *.

* It would be endleſs to tranſcribe more letters in this nauſeous ſtyle betwixt the King and his favourite; there are ſeveral in an indecent one. The negociation with France was then depending, and conducted with as little regard to dignity and true policy, as that with Spain.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

I HAVE ſent Watt Montague this morning into France, with the copy of thoſe things you reſolved of with the French Ambaſſador, that our Ambaſſadors may no more complain for want of timely advertiſements. The Spaniſh Agent will be with me, before I can have well ended this letter. Gundemar's man was with me this morning; the diſcourſe I had with him, I am ſure will not only be pleaſing to you, but make you laugh. The moſt part of the morning I ſpent with the French Ambaſſador, and yet could not make an end; wherefore he hath earneſtly intreated me to ſtay this day in town, as likewiſe to ſee the diſpatch he will ſend into France. He makes no queſtion of an anſwer from thence anſwerable to your heart's deſire. I confeſs I believe it, and the rather becauſe I know they dare do no otherwiſe, and am ſure you now begin to laugh in your ſleeve, to ſee yourſelf ſo courted of all ſides, that all their actions turn to your advantage.

Dear Dad, ſince I cannot come to-night, let this haſty letter give thanks for that true, favourable, and moſt affectionate interpretation of my ſtaying here: and God never relieve me when I have moſt need, if it be not a ſeparating of myſelf, when I am from you, and in lieu of having comfort, and my heart's eaſe by you to ſerve you, I give myſelf nothing but trouble and vexation.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

HAVING more buſineſs than was fit to trouble you with in a letter, I was once reſolved to have waited on you myſelf, but preſently came to me the news of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador's going to you, which hath diverted this reſolution at this time, becauſe I will not increaſe that in you of which I have already found too much; and that I will not let the Ambaſſador himſelf think, that you are diſtruſted, though this gives enough and too much to your people. I have, to eaſe your labour, writ ſome things to my Lord of Arran, by whom I likewiſe expect my anſwer. Only I will trouble yourſelf with this, that I beſeech you to ſend me your plain and reſolute anſwer, whether, if your people ſo reſolve to give you a royal aſſiſtance, as to the number of ſix ſubſidies and fifteenths, with a promiſe after, in caſe of neceſſity, to aſſiſt you with their lives and fortunes; whether then you will not accept it, and their counſel, to break the match with the other treaties; and whether or no, to bring them to this, I may not aſſure ſome of them underhand, becauſe it is feared, that when your turns are ſerved, you will not call them together again to reform abuſes, grievances, and the making of laws for the good government of the country, that you will be ſo far from that, that you will rather weary them with it, deſiring nothing more than their loves and happineſs, in which your own is included. Sir, I beſeech you think ſeriouſly of this, and reſolve once conſtantly to run one way. For ſo long as you waver between the Spaniards and your ſubjects, to make your advantage of both, you are ſure to do it with neither.

I ſhould for my own contentment (though I am ſure I do you ſome ſervice here, and would be able, if you would deal heartily

and openly with me, to do more), wait upon you oftener, but that you going two ways, and myſelf only one, it occaſions ſo many diſputes, that till you be once reſolved, I think it is of more comfort and eaſe to you, and ſafer for me, that I now abide away. For to be of your opinion, would be flattery, and not to ſpeak humbly mine own, would be treachery; therefore I will, at this time, with all the induſtry of my mind, ſerve you here, and pray for the good ſucceſs of that, and the lengthening of your days, with all the affections of his ſoul, that will live and die a lover of you. JAMES I. 1624.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE*.

What follows is all written with the Duke of Buckingham's own hand.

That you did not mean to put a ſcorn upon them, to call for their advice, and then to reject it, if they give royal aſſiſtance with it.

Firſt, to give them thanks for their uniform offer of advice.

Then to take notice of their careful proceedings in the Lower Houſe.

That you do not deſire to engage them in their gift, till you be declared anent their advice.

And if you be engaged into a war by their advice, you mean not to hearken to a peace, without firſt hearing them.

And that they may ſee your ſincere dealing with them, you will be contented that they chuſe a committee to ſee the iſſuing out of the money they give, for the recovery of the Palatinate, in caſe you accept their advice.

* This is a remarkable letter, and the only one in the popular ſtrain I ever met with of the Duke of Buckingham's. It muſt have been writ about March or April 1624. It ſhews the old King's averſeneſs to a quarrel with Spain.

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Then to ſhow them that this is the fitteſt time that ever preſented itſelf to make a right underſtanding between you and your people†.

And you aſſure yourſelf, their behaviour will ſo continue as they have begun towards you; that they ſhall ſee, by proof, how far you will be in love with parliaments for making of good laws, and reforming of abuſes.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

BECAUSE the ſenſe and thankfulneſs of my heart, for your excellent melons, pears, ſugared beans, and aſſurance of better fruit planted in your boſom than ever grew in Paradiſe, will beſt appear in my humble obedience of your commands, I thought it fitteſt to delay the anſwer of your kind letter, till I might give you a full account of all it contained. By this time, I hope, Mr. Secretary hath told you, I miſtook not the Ambaſſador, but he his own language; but before I could diſpatch with him, the day was ſo far ſpent, that night accompanied me to Newhall: but this morning I have firſt agreed with Mr. Jennings, who is the fitteſt man we could have choſen for this buſineſs, and hath aſſured me that what is projected, I dare not ſay in this, but as in all other things, reſolved of, till you ſay content, will be ſoon done, eaſy, cheap, and without hindering deer, ſow, or man, of free paſſage. The particulars I reſerve till I may demonſtrate it, upon the map or place; but in the mean time, Mr. Jennings will be preparing the ground, the trees, and all other neceſſary things, ſo that there ſhall be no time loſt, till you be acquainted with all, and pleaſed with it. Now for my own park,

† Here follows two lines blotted out.

I have

I have found this morning another fine wood that muſt go in with the reſt, and two hundred acres of meadows, broom, cloſes, and plentiful ſprings running through them; ſo that I hope Newhall park ſhall be nothing inferior to Burleigh. My ſtags are all luſty, my calf bald, and others are ſo too. My Spaniſh colts are fat, and ſo is my jovial filley. Mall, Great Mall, Kate, Sue, and Steenie, ſhall all wait of you on Saturday, and kiſs both James's and Charles's feet. To conclude, let this letter aſſure you, that the laſt words I ſpoke to you are ſo true, that I will not only give my word for them, ſwear upon the Holy Evangeliſts, but take the bleſſed ſacrament upon them. So craving your bleſſing I reſt

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

Baby Charles, I kiſs thy warty hands.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

I DO not know what fault I have made of late, that you ſhould take ſo cruel a revenge of me, as to put me in the fear your laſt but one letter did. I am too far behind-hand to let the quarrel reſt ſo, though in your laſt you made a propoſition full of affection, if I may call it by ſo ſaucy a name. You are now in the place I love, therefore, for that reſpect, I will now forbear you, but when off of that ground, look to yourſelf. I hope to have the happineſs to-morrow to kiſs your hands, therefore I will not ſend you the letter you writ to the Pope, which I have got from Secretary Calvert. When he delivered it to me, he made this requeſt, that he hoped your Majeſty would as well truſt him in a letter you were now to write

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write, as you had heretofore in the former. I did what I could to diſſemble it; but when there was no means to do it, I thought beſt to ſeem to truſt him abſolutely, thereby the better to tie him to ſecrecy *. If this be a lie, as I am ſure it is, then you may begin to think, that, with a little more ſtock, I may cry quittance. So I crave your bleſſing.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

A million of thanks for your good melons and pears.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

IN one of your letters you have commanded me to write ſhortly, and merrily. I ſhall ever, and in all things, obey you. I humbly thank you for making your commands eaſy to be obeyed in theſe two particulars; and ſo you preſerve the laſt ſo, ſtill the firſt hath been ſo rivetted with what is paſt, that no time to come can alter it. How can I but write merrily, when he is ſo I love beſt, and beyond all the world? I ſhall love the poor fellow's face the better for it while I live, for relating it with ſuch joy. And for my writing ſhort, why ſhould I ever write otherwiſe, when all I can ſay muſt be ſhort of what I ſhould ſay and do, you have ſo infinitely obliged me? therefore I will, nay I muſt be ſhort. I have left off phyſic; I will wait of you by the day appointed. I had Jennings with me about Theobalds park. All is well, and goes on bravely;

* Secretary Calvert reſigned ſoon after, and turned Papiſt; his ſucceſſor was Sir A. Morton. No wonder he ſhould wiſh to be entruſted with a ſecret correſpondence between his Maſter and the Pope.

and

and ſo is your Baby Charles, whom I hope to wait of down. This JAMES I. 1624.
incloſed will give you an account of the Dunkirker's ſhips. By this little paper you will underſtand a ſuit of fine Hollands. By the other parchment, a ſuit of my Lord Preſident's. Of all do but what you pleaſe, ſo you give me your bleſſing, which I muſt never be denied, ſince I can never be other than

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

Duke of Buckingham to King James.

Dear Dad and Goſſip,

THOUGH I have received three or four letters from you ſince that I writ laſt to you, yet as Tom Badger ſays, I am not behind-hand with you, for I have made a hundred anſwers to them in my mind; for kinder letters never ſervant received from maſter; and for ſo great a King to deſcend ſo low, as to his humbleſt ſlave and ſervant to communicate himſelf in ſuch a ſtile of good fellowſhip, with expreſſions of more care than ſervants have of maſters, than phyſicians have of their patients (which hath largely appeared to me in ſickneſs and in health), of more tenderneſs than fathers have to children, of more friendſhip than between equals, of more affection than between lovers in the beſt kind, man and wife, what can I return? Nothing but ſilence; for, if I ſpeak, I muſt be ſaucy and ſay thus, or ſhort of what is due: my purveyor, my good-fellow, my phyſician, my maker, my friend, my father, my all; I heartily and humbly thank you for all you do, and all I have. Judge what unequal language this is in itſelf, but eſpecially conſidering

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conſidering the thing that muſt ſpeak it, and the perſon to whom it muſt be ſpoken. Now tell me whether I have not done diſcreetly to be ſilent all this while. It is time I ſhould be ſo again, or elſe commit a fault in wearying him that never wearies to do good. Then thus I'll end. I begin my journey to-morrow. I ſhall have the Prince to wait of. We ſhall be at Theobalds. The one will hunt hinds and does; the other ſurvey the trees, walks, ponds, and deer. The next day after, lay ourſelves at your feet, there crave your bleſſing, then give an account of Theobalds park to the beſt of man, though not of the kind of man, yet made by man more than man, like a man, both artificial man, and my moſt natural ſovereign, who by innumerable favours hath made me

Your Majeſty's both humble ſlave and dog,

STEENIE.

No. XXVII.

The Spaniſh Match continued.

The Earl of Briſtol's Letters.

From the originals in the Paper Office.

[So much pains was taken by the Duke of Buckingham and his party, both at the end of King James's reign, and the beginning of his ſucceſſor's, to throw blame on the Earl of Briſtol's conduct, that it is but juſt to lay before the Public, what that Nobleman had to offer in his own vindication. The Reader will find a manly and clear ſtyle in his diſpatches, far ſuperior to that of his correſpondents in office; and will not heſitate to pronounce him much better qualified for a firſt Miniſter, than the inſolent and capricious Favourite, or the inſufficient Secretary. The Reader may compare the private apology of Lord Briſtol to King James, with the articles he gave into the Houſe of Lords againſt the Duke of Buckingham, and his anſwer to the articles preferred againſt himſelf by the Attorney General. The abrupt diſſolution of that Parliament put an end to the proceſs.]

Earl of Briſtol to Secretary Calvert.

Right Honourable,

ON Monday the 29th of September, *ſt. vet.* my Lord Ambaſſador, and the Cardinal Capata, and the other Counſellors of State, together with all the whole houſehold which had waited on the Prince to St. Andero, returned hither; having received all great content in the entertainment which was given there aboard, and much admiring the ſhips, but taken with nothing more than with the October 24.

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princely carriage of his Highneſs towards them; which I can ſafely ſay unto you, without flattery, hath been generally ſuch, as never any Prince that went out of his country, gained ſo much upon the affections of a ſtrange people, as his Highneſs hath done here; whereof the extraordinary great liberality and bounty which he hath uſed, hath not been the leaſt cauſe; which he was pleaſed, at his embarking, much to enlarge, by giving order, that the gifts and rewards of all thoſe which had attended him in his journey, ſhould be double the value of what was firſt appointed for them; a note of all which, when I ſhall have perfected the liſt, I will ſend unto his Highneſs, and to yourſelf. We have found ſome difficulty in taking up of monies; but I ſhall, God willing, ſee it punctually performed to his Highneſs's honour.

The King, ſince his Highneſs's departure, hath many ways expreſſed his love and affection towards him, of which, in my particular, I have had experience; who, upon occaſion of buſineſs, have not need, according to the uſual manner, and as all other Ambaſſadors do, to crave audience of him, but, by a ſpecial and unuſual favour, have at all times free acceſs unto him, giving only notice to ſome gentleman of the chamber, of my being there, and of my attendance; the which grace and favour my Lord Ambaſſador Sir Walter Aſton likewiſe, ſince his return, enjoyeth. On Tueſday the 7th of this preſent month, *ſt. vet.* my Lord went hence to the Eſcurial, whither it pleaſed this King, upon occaſion of ſome buſineſs which offered in the treaty of the Palatinate, to ſend for us, who had removed thither ſome few days before *a la brama*, it being uſual with him at this ſeaſon, when the ſtags come down to rutt from the mountains, to paſs ſome time in hunting there. We were no ſooner come thither, which was the next day before dinner, but we were preſently carried by the Condé of Olivares, up to the King in his bed-chamber, where we found him without his cloak, and in the ſame manner as he uſeth to be ſeen of ſuch of his ſervants only as

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are near about his perſon, and were received of him with extraordinary freeneſs and affability: he being pleaſed to ſay, that now, for that he accounted the Prince's Highneſs to be his brother, he would not treat us as Ambaſſadors, but as of his houſehold. We were feaſted at dinner by the Mayor Domo, and accompanied by divers gentlemen of the chamber. After dinner, the King took us abroad in his own coach, in which he had no other with him, but only Don Carlos his brother, and the Condé of Olivares, and ſo carried us to the Campillo, a place well-known to his Highneſs, where we ſaw him kill four ſtags, and afterwards returned ſomewhat late, well nigh an hour within night, to the Eſcurial, where we were entertained and lodged in the King's houſe. The next morning, it was the King's pleaſure that we ſhould go forth by ourſelves to hunt in the woods not far diſtant from the houſe, where we killed each of us a ſtag, and coming back to the Eſcurial, were admitted that day to ſee the King dine. Which particulars, although they will ſeem no great matter in England, where they are things of ordinary courſe, yet I can aſſure you, they are thought ſtrange here, and eſteemed extraordinary graces, ſuch as of which, I dare boldly ſay, they have not ſeen any former examples.

This being only to acquaint you with theſe particulars, deferring all matter of buſineſs to the other diſpatches, I commit you to God's bleſſed protection, and with the remembrance of my love and ſervice to you, I reſt,

Your's, &c.

Madrid,
October 24th, *ſt°. vet.*

BRISTOL.

Earl of Briſtol to the King.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

Augt. 29th. ALTHOUGH, by my other letters, I have given your Majeſty a full account of all things that paſſed exteriorly betwixt this King and his Highneſs upon his departure; yet ſince the further purſuing of your Majeſty's buſineſſes is now left unto myſelf and Sir Walter Aſton, I think it my duty to repreſent truly unto your Majeſty, in what ſtate they now ſtand; to the end that hereafter I may give your Majeſty a more juſtifiable account of my proceedings, and your Majeſty, being truly and rightly informed of the truth, may the better direct and command what ſhall be fitteſt for your ſervice.

Firſt, concerning his Highneſs's Match, thus it ſtandeth. Upon the arrival here of this Pope's approbation of thoſe few articles which were laſt ſent into Rome, this King is by powers left with him by the Prince to marry *per verba de præſenti* the Infanta, which he is contented to capitulate ſhall be within ten days after the arrival of the ſaid approbation; and, in the *interim*, the Infanta is here ſtiled by the name of *Princeſſa de Ingaltierra*, and in all things eſteemed as his wife betrothed; and in that quality carrieth herſelf towards all.

As touching the temporal articles; they were begun to be treated of ſo near the departure of the Prince, that there had been but only one meeting and conference concerning them ſince the Prince his arrival, which was only two days before his highneſs's going. And then there was on all ſides ſo much to do, that it was not poſſible to bring any of them to a concluſion; but, God willing, preſently upon the return of the King and his Miniſters to the town, we will reſume the treaty where I had formerly left it, and hope to give his Highneſs ſome good account of it before his going out of Spain (if it be not hindered by his Highneſs carrying ſome of the Commiſſioners

oners along with him to the ſea-ſide), or unto your Majeſty, ſpeedily after the return to Madrid.

As touching the buſineſs of the Palatinate; there have been ſeveral conferences and meetings about it, and it ſeemeth to be brought to this iſſue, that, upon your Majeſty's condeſcending that the Prince Palatine's eldeſt ſon may be bred in the Emperor's Court, with the other conditions of ſubmiſſion which have ever been offered, they are contented that there be a full reſtitution made of all his territories, both of the Upper and Lower Palatinate, together with the Dignity Electoral; but hereunto they would ſuſpend his preſent admiſſion, not by way of abſolute excluſion, but to be reſtored thereunto, upon his future good behaviour, and your Majeſty's and the King of Spain's farther interceſſion. But againſt this there hath been abſolute proteſtation made, for the reaſons which I have preſumed to ſet down in writing, and have now ſent them unto Mr. Secretary Calvert, to preſent them unto your Majeſty. But, God willing, we ſhall preſently reſume his treaty, and your Majeſty ſhall have a faithful account thereof.

Concerning the buſineſs of Holland, wherein I received ſome late directions by your Majeſty's letters of the 20th of July, directed unto my Lord of Buckingham and myſelf, I conceive it is not yet ſeaſonable any way to ſtir in it; and I muſt here, like a faithful and much obliged ſervant unto your Majeſty, preſume to deal freely and clearly with you, that if your Majeſty's great and high wiſdom find not means to compound and accommodate what is now out of order, although I conceive it not to be doubted, but that the match will, in the end, proceed, yet your Majeſty will find yourſelf fruſtrated of thoſe effects of amity and friendſhip, which by this alliance you expected. For the truth is, that this King and his Miniſters are grown to have ſo high a diſlike againſt my Lord Duke of Buckingham, and, on the one ſide, to judge him to have ſo much power with your Majeſty and the Prince, and on the other ſide, to be ſo ill affected to them

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them and their affairs, that, if your Majeſty ſhall not be pleaſed in your wiſdom, either to find ſome means of reconciliation, or elſe to let them ſee and be aſſured that it ſhall no way be in my Lord of Buckingham's power to make the Infanta's life leſs happy unto her, or any way to croſs and embroil the affairs betwixt your Majeſties and your kingdoms; I am afraid your Majeſty will ſee the effects which you have juſt cauſe to expect from this alliance to follow but ſlowly, and all the great buſineſſes, now in treaty, proſper but ill. For I muſt, for the diſcharge of my conſcience and duty, without deſcending to any particulars, let your Majeſty truly know, that ſuſpicions and diſtaſtes betwixt them all here, and my Lord of Buckingham, cannot be at a greater height. This I ſet down unto your Majeſty, only to lay truth before you, which, if any reſpect in the world ſhould make me forbear, I ſhould judge myſelf unworthy of life, eſpecially in a buſineſs of ſo great conſequence; in the proſperous and ſucceſsful concluſion whereof, I conceive the greateſt part of the quiet and happineſs of your Majeſty's life is like to conſiſt. So, having given unto Mr. Secretary Calvert an account of all your Majeſty's buſineſſes, I preſume not to trouble you any farther; but, with my humble prayers to God for your Majeſty's health and proſperity, I recommend your Majeſty to his moſt holy protection. And reſt,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, and moſt
faithful ſervant and ſubject,
BRISTOL.

Madrid,
Auguſt 29th, 1623. *ſt°. vet.*

The Same to the Same.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

I Preſumed, in a former letter, in the diſcharge of the duty of a faithful ſervant, to ſet down unto your Majeſty, how much prejudice I conceived might come unto your Majeſty's ſervice, by the high diſtaſtes grown betwixt them here and my Lord Duke of Buckingham, if by your Majeſty's wiſdom it were not prevented. Sept. 9th.

That letter I wrote upon his Highneſs's departure from Madrid; ſince I followed the Prince unto the Eſcurial, being left behind a day for the diſpatch of buſineſs. There I found the former diſtaſtes betwixt the Duke and the Condé of Olivares grown to a public profeſſed hatred, and an irreconcilable enmity; but for the Prince, I cannot but let your Majeſty underſtand, that, from the higheſt to the loweſt, he hath left all men's hearts ſet upon him; and the leave taking betwixt the Prince and the King was with as great profeſſion of love and affection as could be, whereof I was a witneſs, being interpreter betwixt them; and preſently ſet down the effect of their ſpeeches in writing, which I have ſent unto Mr. Secretary Calvert, together with the copies of the King of Spain's letter, written that night unto the Prince, all with his own hand, in confirmation of what he had ſaid, and the Prince his anſwer thereunto; whereby your Majeſty will ſee how their hearts ſtand one towards another, and how likely it is, that all your great affairs will in the end have good ſucceſs, if they be not, by the paſſions of the Miniſters of the one ſide or the other, interrupted. I ſhall not preſume to lay blame on any, but I ſhall faithfully labour and take care that other men's faults and errors may not have ſuch reflection upon your Majeſty's affairs, as that thereby they may be hazarded.

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I well know how long your Majeſty hath treated this buſineſs, and how great things your Majeſty hath done for the bringing of it to effect. And queſtionleſs, the ſame motives and conveniences for making of this alliance and friendſhip with Spain, which were, are ſtill on foot; and to them is added the ſatisfaction which I ſuppoſe his Highneſs hath of the Infanta's perſon, and the good ſucceſs of them more aſſured than ever, and the time prefixed. So that I hope all thoſe accidents which ordinarily fall out at the interview of Princes, wherein difference of cuſtom or religion may raiſe diſtaſtes, the emulation which groweth between their chief ſervants and Miniſters, whereby often the affairs of their Maſters are diſordered and hazarded, will, by your Majeſty's great wiſdom and prudence, be ſo tempered and moderated, that they may cauſe no diſturbance either in the alliance, or the effects which are to be expected from it. I preſume to write thus much unto your Majeſty, for that I conceive through the ſcarcity of the place, the negligence of officers, and the humour of the Spaniards, the Prince his ſervants may return home with little ſatisfaction; yet, as on the one ſide, theſe omiſſions have little relation to your Majeſty's great affairs, ſo I dare ſay, that the King of Spain, (who I hope will, in the match and all other things, give your Majeſty good ſatisfaction) cannot but be ſorry to ſee it wanting in theſe petty circumſtances, wherein I know there hath not been wanting in this King, all poſſible care for the preventing of them; although the faults of officers, and the ſterilneſs of the country by which the Prince is to paſs, I gueſs will ſend the whole company home, with many juſt cauſes of complaint; but I am confident that neither that, nor any other perſonal miſunderſtandings whatſoever, will be of power to put any diſturbance in your Majeſty's high and important affairs.

For all other particulars, I have given an account of them unto Mr. Secretary Calvert, ſo that I ſhall not preſume to give your Majeſty any further trouble, but with my humble prayers to God for

for the increaſe of all happineſs and proſperity unto your Majeſty, I humbly recommend your Majeſty to God's holy protection, and reſt, JAMES I. 1623.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

Madrid, the 19th of Sept. 1623, *ſt°. vet.*

BRISTOL.

The Same to the Same.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

BY my couſin Simon Digbye I gave your Majeſty an account of all that paſſed here, upon the Prince's departure, and that, according to what was capitulated, his highneſs had left powers for the marrying of the Infanta, *per verba de præſenti*, which powers were made to the King and his brother Don Carlos, but left with me, to be delivered upon the arrival of the Pope's approbation, and ſo declared to be his Highneſs's pleaſure before all the King's Miniſters that were preſent at the ſolemn acts of paſſing the Prince his powers unto the King. Since his Highneſs's departure, I have received commandment from his Highneſs, not to make delivery of the ſaid powers, until his Highneſs ſhall be ſatisfied what ſecurity may be given him that the Infanta will not become a religious woman, after the betrothing, and that I expect his further pleaſure therein, as your Majeſty will ſee by the copy of his Highneſs's letter unto me, which I preſume to ſend unto your Majeſty, as likewiſe the anſwer which in that point I make unto his Highneſs, to the end your Majeſty may have perfect information of the whole eſtate of the buſineſs. For that I conceive the temporal articles are ſo far agreed, that I hope to give your Majeſty an account of them within few days, and to your content; and the buſineſs, after ſo Sept. 24th.

JAMES I. 1623. many rubs, brought to that eſtate, that, I am confident, there will not be any failing in any point capitulated betwixt your Majeſty or his Highneſs, but all will be punctually performed. I conceive your Majeſty (continuing your deſire of the match) would be loth to have the fair way it is now in to be clogged or interrupted by any new accident or jealouſy that may be raiſed; for queſtionleſs there is no ſecurity in that particular, that can on his Highneſs's part be required, that they will refuſe him. And I muſt further let your Majeſty underſtand, that the firſt of the temporal articles is, that the *deſpoſorios* ſhall be within ten days after the arrival of the Pope's approbation, which is hourly expected: ſo that I muſt deal like a faithful ſervant with your Majeſty. If upon the coming of the Pope's approbation, it being capitulated that the *deſpoſorios* ſhall be within ten days after the arrival of it, I ſhould withhold the powers, and they underſtand that it is by a ſecret order of the Prince's, there being a clauſe in the ſaid powers, that the Prince ſhall no ways, either in part or whole, revoke the ſaid powers, or detract from them, but that they ſhall be in force until Chriſtmas; I fear your Majeſty will find your buſineſs much diſturbed and retarded by it. And therefore I am an humble ſuitor unto your Majeſty and the Prince, if you would have things go on in that fair way (I now ſuppoſe them to be in), that a poſt may be inſtantly diſpatched back unto me, authorizing me to deliver the ſaid powers upon the arrival of the approbation, and, having taken fitting ſecurity, in this particular point, of the Infanta's not entering into religion after her betrothing. And I hold it infinitely convenient that this be done with all poſſible ſecrecy and ſpeed, and that the Spaniſh Ambaſſadors come not to any knowledge that ever any ſtay was made of the delivery of the powers. And if, in the interim, the approbation come, I doubt not but, for twenty or twenty-four days, to find other fair pretexts of deferring the *deſpoſorios*; and herein I beg your Majeſty's reſolution with all ſpeed poſſible.

I hope

I hope that in two days Mr. Secretary Cottington will be able to begin his journey towards England. He will give your Majeſty an exact account of all your buſineſſes here, and ſuch a one, as I conceive, your Majeſty will be glad to hear. Your Majeſty may therefore be pleaſed to ſuſpend any reſolution in them until you have heard him. And ſo with my prayers for the increaſe of all happineſs unto your Majeſty, I humbly, &c. JAMES I. 1623.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

Madrid, the 24th of Sept. 1623, *ſt°. vet.*

BRISTOL.

The Same to the Same.

May it pleaſe, &c.

I HAVE received your Majeſty's letters of the 8th of October, on the 21ſt of the ſame, ſome hours within night, and have thought it fit to diſpatch back unto your Majeſty with all poſſible ſpeed, referring the anſwer to what your Majeſty hath by theſe letters commanded me, to a poſt that I ſhall purpoſely diſpatch when I ſhall have negociated the particulars with this King and his Miniſters; wherein, God willing, all poſſible diſpatch ſhall be uſed. Oct. 24th.

But foraſmuch as I find, both by your Majeſty's ſaid letters, as likewiſe by letters which I have received from the Prince's Highneſs, that you continue your deſires of having the match proceeded in, I held it my duty that your Majeſty ſhould be informed, that although I am ſet free, in as much as concerneth the doubt of the Infanta's entering into religion, for the delivering the powers left with me by his Highneſs, yet by this new direction I now receive from your Majeſty, that the *deſpoſorios* ſhould be deferred until Chriſtmas, the ſaid powers are made altogether uſeleſs and invalid, it be-

JAMES I. 1623. ing a clauſe in the body of the ſaid powers, that they ſhall only remain in force till Chriſtmas, and no longer, as your Majeſty will ſee by the copy of them, which I ſend here incloſed. Your Majeſty, I conceive, will be of opinion, that this ſuſpending of the execution of the powers, until the force and validity of them be expired, is a direct and effectual revoking of them, which not to do, how far his Highneſs is in honour engaged, your Majeſty will be beſt able to judge, by viewing the powers themſelves. Further, if the date of theſe powers do expire (beſides the breach of the capitulations), although the match itſelf ſhould not by jealouſies and miſtruſts be hazarded, yet the Princeſs's coming at the Spring into England, will be almoſt impoſſible. For by that time new commiſſions and powers ſhall be (after Chriſtmas) granted by the Prince, which muſt be to the ſatisfaction of both parties, I conceive ſo much of the year will be ſpent, that it will be impoſſible for the fleets and other preparations to be in a readineſs againſt the Spring. For it is not to be imagined that they will here proceed effectually with their preparations, until they ſhall be aſſured of the *deſpoſorios*, eſpecially when they ſhall have ſeen that, ſeveral times, deferred on the Prince's part, and that, upon pretexts that are not new, nor grown ſince the granting of the powers, but were before in being, and often under debate, and yet were never inſiſted upon to make ſtay of the buſineſs; ſo that it will ſeem that they might better have hindered the granting of them then, than the execution of them now, if there were no ſtaggering in former reſolutions, the which although really there is not, yet cannot it be but ſuſpected, and the clearing of it between Spain and England will coſt much time. I muſt humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon if I write unto you with the plainneſs of a true-hearted and faithful ſervant, who have ever co-operated honeſtly unto your Majeſty's ends, if I knew them. I know your Majeſty hath long been of opinion that the greateſt aſſurance you could get, that the King of Spain would effectually labour the entire reſtitution

tion of the Prince Palatine was, that he really proceeded to the effecting of the match; and my inſtructions under your Majeſty's hand were, to inſiſt upon the reſtoring of the Prince Palatine, but not ſo as to annex it to the treaty of the match, as that thereby the match ſhould be hazarded; for that your Majeſty ſeemed confident, they here would never grow to a perfect concluſion of the match, without a ſettled reſolution to give your Majeſty ſatisfaction in the buſineſs of the Palatinate. The ſame courſe I obſerved in the carriage of the buſineſſes by his Highneſs and my Lord Duke, at their being here; who, though they inſiſted on the buſineſs of the Palatinate, yet they held it fit to treat of them diſtinctly, and that the marriage ſhould precede as a good pawn for the other. Since their departure, my Lord Ambaſſador Sir Walter Aſton, and myſelf, have much preſſed to have this King's reſolution in writing, concerning the Palatinate, and the diſpatches which your Majeſty will receive herewith concerning that buſineſs, were written before the receipt of theſe your Majeſty's letters, and doubtleſs it is now a great part of their care that that buſineſs may be well ended, before the Infanta's coming into England; and his Highneſs will well remember, that the Condé de Olivares often proteſted the neceſſity of having this buſineſs compounded and ſettled before the marriage, ſaying, otherwiſe they might give a daughter, and have a war within three months after, if this ground and ſubject of quarrel ſhould be ſtill left on foot. The ſame language he hath ever ſince held with Sir Walter Aſton and myſelf, and that it was a firm peace and amity, as much as an alliance, which they ſought with his Majeſty. So that it is not to be doubted, but that this King concluding the match, reſolveth to employ his utmoſt power for the ſatisfaction in the reſtitution of the Prince Palatine. The queſtion now will be, whether the buſineſs of the Prince Palatine having relation to many great Princes, that are intereſted therein (being at great diſtance), and being indeed for the condition and nature of the buſineſs itſelf, impoſſible

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poſſible to be ended, but by a formal treaty; which of neceſſity will require great length; whether the concluſion of the match ſhall any way depend upon the iſſue of this buſineſs; which I conceive to be far from your Majeſty's intention, for ſo the Prince might long be kept unbeſtowed, by any averſeneſs of thoſe that might have particular intereſt in the Prince's remaining unmarried, or diſlike of his matching with Spain. But that which I underſtand to be your Majeſty's aim is, only to have the concluſion of this match accompanied with as ſtrong engagements as can be procured from this King, for the joining with your Majeſty, not only in all good offices, for the entire reſtitution of the Prince Palatine, but otherwiſe, if need require, of his Majeſty's aſſiſtance. Herein I have, theſe days paſt, laboured with all earneſtneſs, and procured this King's public anſwer, which, I am told, is reſolved of, and I ſhall within few days have it to ſend to your Majeſty; as likewiſe a private propoſition which will be put into your hands; and ſhall not fail further to purſue your Majeſty's preſent directions of procuring this King's declaration in what ſort your Majeſty may rely upon this King's aſſiſtance, in caſe the Emperor, or the Duke of Bavaria ſhall oppoſe the entire reſtitution of the Prince Palatine. But I conceive, if it be your Majeſty's intention that I ſhould procure here, firſt, this King's peremptory anſwer in the whole buſineſs, and how he will be aſſiſtant to your Majeſty, in caſe of the Emperor's or Duke of Bavaria's averſeneſs, and that I ſhould ſend it unto your Majeſty, and receive again your anſwer, before I deliver the powers for the *deſpoſorios*; the match would thereby, if not be hazarded, yet I conceive the Infanta going at Spring would be rendered altogether impoſſible. For if upon the arrival of the Pope's approbation, which is hourly expected, the powers be demanded of me, according to the Prince's declaration, and the agreement in the temporal articles, by which the *deſpoſorios* are to be within ten days after the coming of the ſaid approbation, I cannot refuſe them but upon ſome grounds.

If I alledge your Majeſty's deſire of having the *deſpoſorios* deferred until Chriſtmas, they know, as well as myſelf, that his Highneſs's proxy is then out of date (beſides the infringing of the capitulations), and they will judge it as a great ſcorn put upon this King (who, ever ſince the Prince's granting of his powers, hath called himſelf the Infanta's *Deſpoſado)* and to that effect the Prince hath written unto him, in ſome of his letters; beſides, it will be held here a point of great diſhonour unto the Infanta, if the powers called for by her friends, ſhould be detained by the prince's part; and whoſoever elſe may have deſerved ill, ſhe certainly hath neither deſerved diſreſpect nor diſcomfort. Further, upon my refuſal to deliver the powers, all preparations which now go on chearfully and apace, will be ſtayed, and there will enter in ſo much diſtruſt, and ſo many jealouſies, that if the main buſineſs run not hazard by them, at leaſt much time will be to clear them. I muſt therefore, in diſcharge of my duty, tell your Majeſty, that I conceive that all your Majeſty's buſineſſes here, are in a fair way. The match, and all that is capitulated therein they profeſs punctually to perform. In the buſineſs of the Palatinate they profeſs, that they infinitely deſire, and will, to the utmoſt of their powers, endeavour to procure your Majeſty ſatisfaction. The Prince is likely to have a moſt worthy and virtuous lady, and who ſo much loveth him; and all things elſe depending on this match, are in a good and a hopeful way.

This is now the preſent eſtate of your Majeſty's affairs, as it appeareth unto me and to Sir Walter Aſton, with whom I have communicated this diſpatch, as I do all things elſe concerning your Majeſty's ſervice. And I muſt clearly let your Majeſty underſtand, that I conceive, by retaining the powers, when this King ſhall call for them, and offering to defer the *deſpoſorios* until Chriſtmas, that your Majeſty's buſineſſes will run a great hazard, what by the diſtaſtes and diſtruſts that will be raiſed here, and what by the art and induſtry of thoſe which are enemies to the match; whereof every court of Chriſtendom

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Chriſtendom hath plenty. That therefore which I preſume, with all humility, to offer unto your Majeſty is, that you would be pleaſed to give order with all poſſible ſpeed, that when the buſineſs ſhall come cleared from Rome, and that the powers for the marriage ſhall be demanded of me on the behalf of this King, that I may deliver them, and no ways ſeek to interrupt or ſuſpend the *deſpoſorios*, but aſſiſt and help to a perfect concluſion of the match; and that for the buſineſs of the Palatinate, I continue my earneſt and faithful endeavours to engage this King as far as ſhall be poſſible, both for the doing of all good offices for the Prince Palatine's entire reſtitution, as likewiſe for this King's declaration of aſſiſtance, in caſe the Emperor or Duke of Bavaria ſhall oppoſe the ſaid reſtitution. Herein I will not fail to uſe all poſſible means, and, I conceive, that the diſpatch of the match will be a good pawn in the buſineſs; and the help and aſſiſtance which the Princeſs being once betrothed would be able to give in this court, to all your Majeſty's buſineſs, would be of good conſideration. So fearing I have already too far preſumed upon your Majeſty's patience, I humbly crave your Majeſty's pardon, &c.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

Madrid,
the 24th of October 1623.

BRISTOL.

The Same to the Same.

May it pleaſe, &c.

Nov. 26th.

ON the of November *ſt°. vet.* arrived here Mr. Killegrew, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Griſley, all with your Majeſty's diſpatches, and the duplicates of them; which ſhall be exactly and punctually obeyed. And for that the diſpatches I ſent from hence on the 24th of this month,

month, in which I ſpecified the nomination of the 9th of December *ſt°. nov.* for the deſpoſorios, I conceive your Majeſty may be in ſome perplexity until you know the arrival of thoſe your directions, and the exact obedience that ſhall be given to what you are pleaſed to command; I held it fit to leave your Majeſty as few hours as was poſſible in any doubt, and therefore have, the very ſame night, ſent away Peter Killegrew; by him to let you know, that that part of your Majeſty's commands which concerneth the deferring of the *deſpoſorios*, Sir Walter Aſton and myſelf have intimated unto the Condé de Olivares; and ſo likewiſe is the reſt concerning the Palatinate, which, to-morrow, Sir Walter Aſton and myſelf will draw into writing, and deliver to this King.

As for my departure from this court, it ſhall be with all ſpeed, to caſt myſelf at your Majeſty's feet, where I am no way diffident to appear an honeſt and faithful ſervant. Though being engaged for more than fifty thouſand crowns for the Prince, and all my wife's jewels at pawn, and having no means nor credit on this ſide of the ſea, for a quarter of the money which is neceſſary for my journey, I humbly beſeech your Majeſty to take it into your conſideration, that your Ambaſſador's going from this court, may not be like a running away in debt, and leaving his wife and children in pawn; but rather than fail punctually to obey your Majeſty's commandments, I will come home on foot. In the interim, for that I find my proceedings blamed by a letter that faith it was of your Majeſty's dictating, with order to ſhew it me, I moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty to paſs your eyes on the incloſed paper, which is, what, on ſo great a ſudden, I can ſay to juſtify my proceedings; which, if it ſatisfy not your Majeſty, I muſt have recourſe unto your Majeſty's grace and goodneſs, and to the integrity and fidelity of mine own intentions; for my conſcience beareth me witneſs, that I have committed no error through want of zeal or affection to your

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honour and ſervice. And ſo wiſhing unto your Majeſty all increaſe of happineſs, &c.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

Madrid, the 26th of Nov. 1623, *ſt°. vet.*

BRISTOL.

Earl of Briſtol and Sir Walter Aſton to the Same.

May it pleaſe, &c.

Dec. 26.

BY our letters of the 6th of December we gave your Majeſty an account of what anſwer we had then received in writing, unto that which had been formerly propounded by us in your Majeſty's name, in the buſineſs of the Palatinate. Since, we received another anſwer upon the memorial we delivered according to your Majeſty's directions, ſignified to me the Earl of Briſtol, by your letters of the 13th of November, which falleth out to be ſuch, as, in our above-mentioned letters of the 6th of December, we told your Majeſty we feared it would be, much worſe, and much more reſerved than any we had formerly received; it being rather indeed an expoſtulation than any direct anſwer to any point by us propounded.

Hereupon we held it fit to have recourſe unto the Condé de Olivares, and the reſt of the Council of State, repreſenting unto them, what had been ſignified unto us, to have been the reſolution of the Council the 22d of November, viz. That this King was reſolved to procure your Majeſty entire ſatisfaction; and that the Condé de Olivares had wiſhed us to ſignify ſo much to your Majeſty in this King's name, and intreated us to empawn our honours and our lives, if need were, for the faithful performance of it, and that he had aſſured us we ſhould receive ſo much in writing before the *deſpoſorios*: that we had accordingly, as we were deſired, given your Majeſty ſuch aſſurance: that we now deſired that we might be able

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to let your Majeſty know the true cauſe of this alteration, and whether this King had changed his former reſolution of procuring your Majeſty ſatisfaction, and upon what ground. They plainly let us know, that this King, out of his love and deſire of friendſhip with your Majeſty, was reſolved to employ his utmoſt endeavours for the procuring your Majeſty entire ſatisfaction; but, to have it extorted from him by way of menace, or that it ſhould now be added to the marriage by way of condition; and that his ſiſter muſt be rejected unleſs the King would undertake to give ſatisfaction, and that, by declaring that he would make a war againſt the Emperor, if need were; whatſoever the King's reſolutions might be in the buſineſs itſelf, he could neither with his honour, nor with the honour of his ſiſter (whom he would no way force or thruſt upon the Prince), make any other anſwer for the preſent, than what he had done. We then let them underſtand that we conceived that they much miſtook the manner of your Majeſty's and Prince's proceeding; firſt, for any menace, we knew of none more than what the nature of the buſineſs itſelf implied, which was, that there was no great likelihood of continuance of much love and friendſhip betwixt your Majeſties, whilſt this King ſhould remain with the eſtate * of your children, or whilſt indeed this buſineſs ſhould not be fully accommodated; but for your Majeſty's manner of proceeding, as it was with great freeneſs and reality, ſo it was with much love; for your Majeſty-being, in nature and honour, obliged to procure the reſtitution of your children, deſired that therein you might rely upon this King's friendſhip without being conſtrained to ſeek other courſes, wherein being of late ſomewhat diſcouraged, by reaſon of the giving away of Beckſtrott, and this King's giving the title of Elector unto the Duke of Bavaria, your Majeſty had thought it fit to bring this buſineſs to ſome certain iſſue, and to know how far you might rely upon this King's friendſhip herein; to the end that, at the ſame

* The Palatinate.

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time that your Majeſty contracted alliance with this King, you ſhould not be forced to make leagues and confederation with all the enemies of the Houſe of Auſtria; but that, jointly with a marriage, your Majeſty might make a perfect and ſincere friendſhip betwixt your crowns and poſterities, and remove all occaſions which might interrupt it.

After many ſeveral debates, this King hath been contented to make unto your Majeſty the ſame full anſwer which was intended before the deferring of the *deſpoſorios*; and we have procured it to be under this King's hand, by way of letter unto your Majeſty; although, in point of honour, the Council of State will not let the original letter be ſent unto your Majeſty, until it may be delivered by way of anſwer unto ſome letter of your Majeſty's; but it is firmed by this King, and ſo depoſited, with promiſe to be delivered unto us upon the firſt letter we ſhall procure from your Majeſty touching the buſineſs of the Palatinate. In the mean time, I have the ſaid letter, atteſted by the Secretary of State, delivered unto us as this King's anſwer to our propoſitions, which we here ſend originally unto your Majeſty, together with the tranſlation of it. And we aſſure your Majeſty, it hath not been the eaſieſt part of our negociation, to procure it in this form, for they here judged it ſtrange, that your Majeſty having written nothing to this King, we ſhould preſs to have this King's anſwer, by way of letter unto your Majeſty, or otherwiſe than by act of Council, which is the uſual form to all memorials, and eſpecially in this conjuncture.

Your Majeſty may therefore be pleaſed to command ſuch a letter to be drawn and ſent, as may juſtly occaſion ſuch an anſwer; the which, we humbly conceive, if it be merely a letter of credence for us, in the buſineſſes of the Prince Palatine, will be fitteſt; for that all things contained in this King's preſent letter, are in anſwer of the particular points of our memorial; and I the Earl of Briſtol was ſent unto, to know if I had any blank of your Majeſty's; for that,

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upon any letter I would deliver from your Majeſty in this buſineſs, the King's original letter ſhould be delivered by way of anſwer.

So that the eſtate of the buſineſs of the Palatinate we conceive to be the ſame it was before the deferring of the *deſpoſorios*, only with the loſs of ſo much time, and that we yet want the aſſiſtance and interceſſion of the Princeſs.

We have likewiſe moved this King that, in conformity of that which he now hath promiſed unto your Majeſty, he diſpatch preſently unto the Emperor, and write effectually unto him for to come to a ſpeedy concluſion of the buſineſs, which is promiſed unto us, and we will be careful to ſee the poſt diſpatched away. Though, as your Majeſty's faithful ſervants, we cannot but preſent unto you our humble opinions, that the way to come to a ſpeedy concluſion of this buſineſs is, ſpeedily to conclude the marriage; for if that ſhall not really be proceeded in, it is not to be ſuppoſed that the friendſhip between this King (whoſe Miniſters ſtick not to declare, that he cannot but judge his ſiſter not well uſed) will eaſily find means to fruſtrate any effects your Majeſty may expect from his mediation or friendſhip; but the match being really and ſpeedily brought to a concluſion, we cannot but be very hopeful that all things elſe will follow to your content. And ſo, moſt humbly wiſhing unto your Majeſty all increaſe of happineſs and proſperity, we recommend your Majeſty to God's holy protection, and reſt

Your Majeſty's moſt humble and moſt
faithful ſervants and ſubjects,

Madrid, the 26th of Dec. 1623, *ſt°. vet.*

BRISTOL.
WA. ASTON.

JAMES I. 1624.

Harleian Collection. No. 6798. No. 43.

The Anſwers of the Earl of Briſtol to certain Interrogatories intended for His Majeſty's private ſatisfaction, with a reſerve for a permiſſion of making recourſe to ſuch other things as may be farther neceſſary to his clearing.

Interrog. 1. WHETHER did you think yourſelf really dealt withal by the Emperor and his Miniſters, when you were his Majeſty's Ambaſſador in Germany?

Anſw. He ſaith, that he guided himſelf by public and avowed anſwers which were given him by the Emperor under his hand, and the Imperial Seal; and conceiveth that it becometh him with great modeſty and caution, to cenſure the thoughts and intentions of ſo great a Prince, but referreth himſelf therein, to his diſpatches of that employment, wherein he dealt honeſtly and faithfully with his Majeſty, by advertiſing truly what he underſtood or thought then upon the place; and hath many great teſtimonies of the extraordinary ſatisfaction which his Majeſty expreſſed to have of his fidelity and induſtry in the ſaid employment. And at his return gave an account thereof firſt to his Majeſty and the Lords, and afterwards to the Parliament. He ſaith further, that he then moved his Majeſty, that he would not rely upon ſingle treaties, but that he would actually declare himſelf, and maintain an army under his own ſtandard, for the defence of the Palatinate, which reſolution his Majeſty was pleaſed to take. He likewiſe addeth, that not only his actions mentioned in the next article, but his letter unto his Majeſty, and the Lords, bearing date the 26th of July 1621, wherein he beſeecheth them that they would not, upon any hopes, lay aſide the care of all fitting preparations for a war, in caſe a peace might not

honourably be had, are ſufficient teſtimonies on his behalf, that though he dare not give any cenſure upon the Emperor's thoughts, nor caſt any aſperſion of indirect proceeding upon ſo great a Prince, yet his care, induſtry and advice was to have the worſt prevented. JAMES I. 1624.

Interrog. 2. Whilſt the affairs of Bohemia and Germany had a face of ſtrength on the King's ſon-in-law's ſide, did you preſs the King of Spain's Miniſters to particular reſolutions; and if you did not, why did you give ſuch large and confident aſſurances of their real dealing, as many of your letters ſpeak?

Anſw. To the ſaid interogatory, he anſwereth to the firſt part thereof, that while the affairs of Bohemia and Germany had a face of ſtrength on the King's ſon-in-law's ſide, the King of Spain and his Miniſters were, by Sir Francis Cottington, and Sir Walter Aſton, (who then reſided in the Court of Spain) preſſed with all earneſtneſs to particular reſolutions, as all occaſions required; which he knoweth, for that he was acquainted with his Majeſty's directions and their diſpatches, which are ready to be produced, by which it will appear, that like good Miniſters they omitted nothing in that kind, that was to be done.

To the ſecond clauſe of the interrogatory he ſaith, that by the diſtinguiſhing of times he conceiveth, that it will appear that the buſineſs is much miſtaken, both concerning his letters, or any aſſurances given by him. For it is moſt certain that all was loſt, before his letter out of Spain beareth date; by which it will be apparent, that he hath been very unfortunate to have the loſs of things attributed to the hopes he gave from Spain, when there was nothing left when his letters came unto his Majeſty's hands, which are pretended ſhould (through hopes given by them) have detained his Majeſty from taking ſome other courſe than what he did, for the defence of the Palatinate; as it will be made manifeſt by that which followeth. In the year of God 1619, the Prince Palatine took the Crown of Bohemia; the Summer following, the Marquis Spinola took all that

which

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which he holdeth on the Lower Palatinate. In the month of November next enſuing, the battle of Prague was loſt. In the month of February 1620-1, the Princes of the Union diſbanded, and expoſed the Palatinate to the enemy, which, by the induſtry of the Earl of Briſtol, was for that time ſaved by the ſuſpenſion of arms he then procured at his being at Bruſſels, which he will ſhow was by his Majeſty, the Prince Palatine, and the Duke of Deuxponts, acknowledged. In the year 1621, the Upper Palatinate was abandoned by Mansfelt, and taken by the Duke of Bavaria. In the month of July, the ſame year (the war being revived) the caſtle of Stien was taken by Don Gonzales de Cordova; and Sir Horatio Vere held it fit, in regard of the inequality of power, to leave the field, and put all his forces into three towns, Heidelburgh, Manheim, and Franckendale, which was all that was then left. At the ſame time he ſaith, that he was earneſtly requeſted by the Council of Heidelburgh to come unto them from Nurembergh, where, at his coming, he found all things in miſerable confuſion and want: he then ſuccoured and relieved them, and Franckendale, which was then beſieged, by the troops which were brought down by his procurement. And the Council of Heidelburgh, the Prince Palatine himſelf, and his Majeſty have been pleaſed (as he can well ſhow) to acknowledge a ſecond time of the ſaving of the remnant of the Palatinate, to his care and induſtry. Hitherto he conceiveth nothing excepted to, againſt any of his letters or proceedings. In the year 1622, he began his journey towards Spain, and arrived about July 1622, but it was Auguſt before he did negociate, by reaſon of the expectance of the Condé de Gondemar; about which time the Duke of Brunſwick and the Marquis of Baden received their overthrows; and preſently after Heidelburgh was loſt with little reſiſtance; ſo that there remained only Manheim and Franckendale; for the ſaving whereof, he procured the King of Spain to write his letters, not of mediation, but to command his forces to be aſſiſtant to the Engliſh, and not to permit them to be wronged,

wronged, or aſſailed by any other. Theſe letters bear date the 29th of October; and his Majeſty is pleaſed to write of them in his letters of the 24th of November, as followeth: "That howſoever the order given unto the Infanta for the relief of Manheim arrived too late, and after the town was yielded into the hands of the enemy Tilly, yet we muſt acknowledge it to be a good office of your negociation, and an argument of that King's ſincere and ſound intention." So that he doubteth not but that he will appear to the world, that neither any thing hath been loſt by the hopes which his letters gave, nor hath he neglected any duty, that by a faithful ſervant in this could be done, as his Majeſty is pleaſed to acknowledge by his letters of the 1ſt of January 1622-3, a few days before the Prince began his journey towards Spain, in expreſs terms; viz. "concerning that other "unfortunate knotty affair of the Palatinate, to ſay the truth, as "things ſtand, we cannot tell what you could have done more than "you have already."

Interrog. 3. Whether did you judge that the King of Spain would have had a change in religion in England with the match, or ſome advantageous conditions concerning the Low Countries, or elſe no Match?

Anſw. To this interrogatory he ſaith, he never heard of any ſuch intention or propoſition from the King of Spain, or any of his Miniſters: for if he had, he would have rejected it with ſcorn and indignation, as he did the propoſition that was made in 1611, for Prince Henry's being a Catholic; and afterwards other conditions in the year 1614, propounded by the Duke of Lerma, which he would not ſo much as promiſe the ſending of them unto the King, as will appear by his ſeveral diſpatches of thoſe times. But of this particular, he never heard any thing. And as for any advantageous conditions, that by the match ſhould have been procured for Spain, touching the Low Countries, he never knew any act was in treaty, or in ſpeech, concerning the Low Countries, that had any relation to this

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match. He craveth leave to make anſwer thereunto, when he ſhall have the happineſs to await upon his Majeſty in perſon *.

Interrog. 4. Whether did you find that the Miniſters of Spain with your treaty with them, did endeavour to keep you in generalities, and to avoid particulars?

Anſw. He ſaith that it is true, that the ſtile of negociation in Spain is ſlow, and they are hardly put from generalities. But when the buſineſs he treated were ripe, he found them not avoid the coming to particulars; and that on the 12th of December 1622, they agreed to all the points of religion for the match; that then, in the King of Spain's anſwer in writing, of date, he particularly promiſeth the procuring of the diſpenſation in March or April laſt, at the farther; and that in the *interim*, all the temporal articles ſhould be agreed, and in conformity thereof, the ſaid articles were treated and agreed: viz. That the proportion ſhould be that which ſhould appear to have been in the King's father's time agreed of; viz. That the *deſpoſorios* ſhould have been within forty days after the arrival of the diſpenſation, and the Infanta to have begun her journey twenty days after that. And that Don Duarte of Portugal ſhould have been the perſon that ſhould have attended her, with all other particulars, as will appear by his diſpatch.

Interrog. 5. Whether did you take any diſcontent at the Prince's coming into Spain, or did you hold it indifferent whether he had the Princeſs with him, or that ſhe ſhould come after him?

Anſw. He ſaith, he did not take any diſcontent at the Prince's coming into Spain, but was infinitely joyed to ſee him ſafely arrived; although it is true that he wrote unto his Majeſty in his firſt letter † after the Prince's arrival, that he was glad he was not acquainted with the intention of that journey, for if he had, he ſhould have

* This alludes probably to ſome overture about the Low Countries, thrown out by the Duke of Buckingham, when he was in Spain with the Prince.

† This letter is printed in Sir D. Dalrymple's Collections, 1762.

proteſted

proteſted againſt it; and that, although he hoped things might end as happily as they had begun hopefully, yet if they did ſo, he ſhould attribute it to a particular grace of God, beyond human prudence: for knowing that by the interview of Princes (what through the diſtaſtes that commonly ariſe amongſt their Miniſters, and other accidents which happen) that friendſhip and amity is ſeldom bettered or increaſed; knowing likewiſe the diſpenſation not to be then granted, and fearing leſt his Prince's perſon being in their power, they might make uſe of it to their advantage in preſſing farther points in religion than had been formerly ſettled; for theſe, and for divers other greater and more important reaſons, which he ſhall declare unto his Majeſty when he ſhall attend him, he ſeemed not to approve the journey, out of his judgment and zeal to the King's ſervice and the Prince's ſafety, but no way out of any diſlike or diſcontent of his own. And for the ſecond clauſe of this interrogatory, he ſaith, he did not hold it indifferent whether his Highneſs had the Princeſs with him, or that ſhe ſhould come after him; but infinitely deſired and laboured, that they might have come together. And he conceiveth the Spaniards that were the cauſe to hinder it, did extremely ill, and imprudently.

Interrog. 6. Whether did you find more forwardneſs or affection in the King of Spain and his Miniſters towards the Match, before the Prince's coming thither, or afterwards?

Anſw. He ſaith, that before the Prince's coming, he found all forwardneſs and affection in the Spaniards to the match, and all aſſurances of their real deſiring of it, which could paſs betwixt Princes and Chriſtians: and he conceiveth no man will doubt thereof, that ſhall read his diſpatch unto your Majeſty, of the 9th of September 1623, wrote then upon an occaſion of a rumour that had been raiſed, that nothing ſhould be really intended in the Match before the Prince's coming into Spain. But he ſaith, he conceiveth, that after the Prince's arrival in Spain, their deſires to the Match were much

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much increaſed, by the knowledge of the Prince's perſon, and by his conſtant, virtuous, and princely behaviour, by which he won the hearts of all ſorts of people unto him, although it be true that ſome perſonal diſtaſtes did then put the buſineſs in much diſtraction. But the time when he conceiveth the Match was by the King and all men in Spain moſt deſired, was, after the Prince's departure out of Spain. For the Prince having left ſo great a renown behind, and the King and he having parted upon ſuch affectionate terms, which were continued and much increaſed by the daily exchange of courteous letters betwixt them, and thoſe diſguſts and harſhneſs which had formerly happened by the diſtaſtes of their Miniſters, being now by abſence removed; the King of Spain and the whole Court ſeemed never ſo much to deſire it, as then. And the King made upon all occaſions conſtant and public profeſſions, that he would, for no earthly regard, fail in one tittle, either in ſubſtance or circumſtance, of what he had capitulated or promiſed unto the Prince's Highneſs. And he had cauſe to guide himſelf according to the oaths and proteſtations of ſo great a King. And if he had not really and honeſtly intended as he profeſſed, he is anſwerable for it, betwixt God and his own conſcience.

Interrog. 7. Why did you ſo confidently inform his Majeſty, from time to time, of their real and ſincere proceeding in Spain, having been acquainted before with the affront put upon his Majeſty with the breach of the treaty concerning the Match of Prince Henry?

Anſw. To the firſt part of the 7th interrogatory, he ſaith, he never gave his Majeſty any hopes of their real proceedings in Spain, but the ſame that were then given him, without adding or diminiſhing; neither could he have done otherwiſe with honeſty and ſafety. Further, the hopes he gave, were never upon conjectures, or vain intelligence, but upon all the aſſurances both in word and writing, that could paſs between Princes and Chriſtians. And if the diſpatch he wrote to his Majeſty, bearing date the 9th of September 1623, may

but

but be peruſed, he no way doubteth, but it will appear that he was not deceived, but ſerved his Majeſty with no leſs care and vigilancy, than with truth and fidelity. Laſtly he ſaith, he had reaſon to give ſuch hopes as he did, of that which he never doubted but that it would take effect, until after the ſtay of the *deſpoſorios*. As for the inference concerning the match of Prince Henry, it being ten or twelve years ſince, we have many freſh examples, that ſtates alter their reſolutions in their deſigns, and many times their alliances, in much ſhorter time. But for that the giving a due anſwer unto this point, by deducing buſineſs from Prince Henry's time unto this preſent, would be of greater length than befitteth this anſwer, he will in a paper apart ſet down the whole progreſs of the buſineſs, from the year 1611, unto this preſent time, wherein he no way doubteth but to make it appear to his Majeſty, that he hath ſerved him like a good and faithful ſervant.

Interrog. 8. Whether did not Mr. Porter at his being in Spain tell you, that the Condé of Olivares ſaid, that it was a prepoſterous demand for the King of Spain to take arms againſt his uncle, againſt the Catholic league, and the Houſe of Auſtria; and that of the Match he knew nothing, nor what it meant?

Anſw. He ſaith, that not long before Mr. Porter's departure out of Spain, Sir Walter Aſton told him, that he had heard that Mr. Porter ſpeaking with the ſaid Condé Olivares, he ſhould deny that there was ever any intention that the King of Spain ſhould aſſiſt his Majeſty with his arms, in caſe by other means he could not procure him ſatisfaction in the buſineſs of the Palatinate. And that thereon, he ſpeaking with Mr. Porter, Mr. Porter told him as much in effect. But concerning the ſecond part of this interrogatory, that the Condé of Olivares ſhould tell him, that touching the Match he knew nothing, nor what it meant; he ſaith, he (Porter) never ſaid any ſuch thing to him as he remembereth, but if he be not much deceived,

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deceived, the clean contrary; and that the Condé ſhould tell him, that for the buſineſs of the Match he held it concluded: and this he ſuppoſeth to be much more probable, for that he did not only underſtand, that Mr. Porter went away in that point fully ſatisfied, having often not only ſpoken himſelf with the Lords of the Spaniſh Council, but alſo been made acquainted with the good anſwers he carried back: but he is likewiſe farther confirmed in that belief, for that, it ſhould ſeem, Mr. Porter, at his return into England, did not raiſe any doubt, neither in the Prince nor Duke, but that all was really proceeded in, in Spain; for beſides the Prince's journey that enſued thereon, which doubtleſs would not have been to try experiences; and if that be inſiſted upon, the contrary will be made apparent. The King is pleaſed, in his letters of the 7th of to write as followeth: "Right truſty, &c. The diſpatch brought us by Endymion Porter, "doth give us ſufficient aſſurance of your faithful endeavours and "diligence, to expedite thoſe great buſineſſes you have in charge; "for which we are pleaſed to return you both our gracious accept-"ation and thanks." And ſo wiſheth him to proceed and conſummate the whole buſineſs of the Match, according to the commiſſion he had. And touching the Palatinate* he writeth, viz. "To ſay the "truth, as things ſtand, we cannot tell what you could have done, "more than you have already." And the Prince in his letters of the 6th of January 1622, all written in his own hand, in anſwer of thoſe he ſent by Mr. Porter, is pleaſed to write, viz. "Briſtol, this is to "give you thanks for the ſucceſsful pains you have taken in all your "buſineſs, but eſpecially in that of my marriage, &c." and concludeth, "Now I muſt end as I began, with thanks, for your pains "hath deſerved that, and much more. And I aſſure you, you have "made good, and, if it were poſſible, increaſed the good opinion I "had of you."

* At that time, and till the Prince's return from Spain, the Palatinate was a very ſecondary conſideration.

And

And the Duke of Buckingham in his letters of the 5th of January 1622, to the Condé of Gondemar, in anſwer of thoſe which Mr. Porter had brought him (which letter was written in the hand of Mr. Cottington, and a long poſtſcript in the Duke's hand) writ in ſuch ſort, as did appear, that Mr. Porter had raiſed little ſcruple that the Match was in ill terms. And my Lord Duke in his letters at the ſame time to the Condé of Olivares, which letters I conceive will prove to have been drawn in Spaniſh by Mr. Porter himſelf, ſaith, he hath underſtood by the relation of Mr. Porter of the offices he doth, for the continuing amity, and an entire union betwixt their Majeſties and their Crowns, and particularly how much he doth labour to effect the Match, and to accommodate the affairs of the King's ſon-in-law, and that thereby he findeth himſelf obliged to a full reſolution, not only to ſerve the King of Spain in all that he can, but to comply in all things with his Excellency, as his friend and true ſervant. And as for that the Condé of Olivares ſhould ſay, he knew nothing of the Match; he would not meddle with what may have paſſed between the Condé of Olivares and Mr. Porter, but the truth thereof will eaſily be made apparent by divers letters which he hath, under the hand of the Condé Olivares, in which will be ſeen, that he both treated, and knew of the Match, before Mr. Porter's arrival. Beſides the diſcourſe of the Condé of Olivares, which hath been ſo much ſpoken of in the world, for the transferring of the Match for the Prince unto one of the Emperor's daughters, beareth date while Mr. Porter was at Madrid, and thereby it will appear, that he had formerly heard of the Match.

As for the other point concerning the Palatinate, he affirmeth, that all he had ſaid of the profeſſions, to aſſiſt his Majeſty with armies, is true, and he cauſed as much to be affirmed to Mr. Porter, at his being in Spain, by the Condé Gondomar and Sir Walter Aſton; and ſending to the Condé of Olivares to expoſtulate with him of that which he underſtood he ſhould have ſaid to Mr. Porter, he anſwered him concerning Mr. Porter, that, which he willingly omitteth, but

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for the buſineſs he ſhall have ample ſatisfaction, for that the King's intentions were ſtill the ſame, and that whenſoever he would come to the King, he would not make nice to ſpeak again whatſoever he had promiſed; whereupon having audience appointed him within two or three days, there being an infection at that time in his houſe, of which divers of his ſervants had died, on that very night before he ſhould have had audience, he intreated Sir Walter Aſton to go alone to the King, who was pleaſed, upon his moving the buſineſs of the Palatinate, to make unto him, in the ſame form of words, the ſame anſwer, which he made to them both at the Eſcurial, wherewith Sir Walter Aſton acquainted Mr. Porter, in his preſence, and ſome others. And if he be not miſtaken, Mr. Porter accompanied Sir Walter Aſton that day, and kiſſed the King's hands, and ſeemed rather to be very ſorry that the Earl of Briſtol had preſſed the buſineſs ſo far, than that he any way remained unſatisfied: herein he humbly beſeecheth, that Sir Walter Aſton's diſpatches may be produced, which he conceiveth muſt bear date about the 12th or 13th of December 1622.

Interrog. 9. Why did you not preſs, before the Prince's coming into Spain, the reſtitution of the Palatinate, to the perſon of the King's ſon-in-law and his ſucceſſor, in all particular points, both in matter and form?

Anſw. He ſaith, that before the Prince's coming into Spain he did preſs the reſtitution of the Palatinate to the perſon of the King's ſon-in-law and his ſucceſſor, in all particular points both in matter and form, as will appear by his ſeveral diſpatches, and is acknowledged by his Majeſty, by his letters of the 7th of January 1622-3, it being but few days before the Prince's coming into Spain, wherein he ſaith, concerning the affairs of the Palatinate, "To ſay the truth as things "ſtand, we cannot tell what you could have done, more than you "have already."

Interrog. 10. Did you, upon all occaſions, as you had ample cauſe, repreſent the merit of his Majeſty, or did you at any time let it fall or undervalue it?

Anſw.

Anſw. He ſaith, he did, upon all occaſions, as he had ample cauſe, repreſent the merit of his Majeſty; neither did he at any time let it fall, or undervalue it, as will amply appear by ſundry of his diſpatches, aad many memorials in that buſineſs, ready to be produced.

Interrog. 11. When the breeding of his Majeſty's grand-child with the Emperor was propounded, (which implied a converſion of him,) did you reject it, or did you think it advantageous and counſellable for his Majeſty?

Anſw. He ſaith, that the breeding of his Majeſty's grand-child with the Emperor, as he remembereth, was never propounded to him, but in the preſence of ſuch * as befitted not him to reject, or accept of it; but when the Match for him, with the Emperor's daughter, hath been ſingly at any time propounded to him, he hath faithfully repreſented it to his Majeſty. But for the inference, that by the parentheſis is made (that his converſion was thereby implied) he never imagined it, nor ſeeth ground for it. For if the meaneſt Princeſs in Chriſtendom, matcheth with the greateſt Monarch, capitulateth for the full uſe of her conſcience, he knoweth not upon what ground it is ſuppoſed, that it ſhould have debarred the King's grand-child; neither ever underſtood he but he ſhould have had his family ſuch as his Majeſty, and his father, had appointed for him; and this may leſs be inferred, as he ſuppoſeth, in the Emperor's Court, than in any Court of Chriſtendom; for that he remembereth the young Prince of Anhalt being the Emperor's priſoner, and after being ſet at liberty, but with condition to continue in the Emperor's Court, the free uſe of his religion was not denied; ſo likewiſe two of the Dukes of Saxe, who were in the Emperor's ſervice, and divers others, both counſellors, and of his bed-chamber, and of his chief commanders in the wars, are avowed Proteſtants; and in Vienna itſelf there is a congregation of fourteen or fifteen thouſand, which publicly and avowedly have the free uſe of their religion. And as for the ſecond cauſe, whether

* *i. e.* The Prince, and the Duke of Buckingham.

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he thinketh it advantageous or counſellable or not, he judgeth it more or leſs counſellable, and advantageous, according as the ſtate of affairs ſhall ſtand, and as the conditions ſhall be made better or worſe, by the treaty of them.

Interrog. 12. Whether did you think it the way for the greatneſs of England, to have the King thereof, under the obedience of the church of Rome; or did you ever judge it convenient and requiſite for the Prince himſelf, in contemplation of that Match, to conform himſelf to the Roman Catholic religion?

Anſw. He ſaith, he never did, nor doth think it the way, for the greatneſs of England, to have the Kings thereof under the obedience of the church of Rome; and he is very much grieved that any ſuch interrogatory ſhould be aſked him, having, all the days of his life, and in all places, lived and approved himſelf a Proteſtant, and never having done, publicly or privately, any act that was not ſuitable to the ſame profeſſion. He further ſaith, that, in all his foreign employments, for the ſpace of fourteen years, of more than five hundred perſons, of all qualities, that have attended him, there was never any one perverted in his religion, ſave two Iriſh footmen, who in England had been bred Papiſts; and if his Majeſty be pleaſed to take further information, he humbly beſeecheth his Majeſty to ſend for not only Dr. Mew and Dr. Wren, the Prince's chaplains, which were with him in Spain, but for Mr. Sandford, one of the Prebends of Canterbury, Mr. Boſwell, Parſon of St. Lawrence London, and Frewyne, deputy reader in Magdalen College in Oxford, who have all been his Chaplains in Spain; as likewiſe ſuch Catholics as are known to have been long his ancient acquaintance and friends, and to examine them upon oath, whether, either publicly or privately, either in Spain or England, they have known him, in any kind, to make ſhow, or ſo much as to forbear upon all occaſions avowedly to declare the religion he profeſſeth; and therefore he humbly beſeecheth, if that out of any diſcourſe or argument he held *pro* or *con*, upon miſunderſtanding

miſunderſtanding or miſtaking of arguments, any information hath been given, or any aſſertion made, whereupon that interrogatory may have been grounded, his Majeſty will cauſe the ſaid accuſations to be ſet down in writing, and he will not fail therein to give his Majeſty full and entire ſatisfaction. To the ſecond part of this interrogatory he ſaith, he did never either invite, by perſuaſion of his own, or by procuring conference of others, the Prince to be a Roman Catholic; nor did he judge it convenient and requiſite for his Highneſs (in contemplation of that Match) to conform himſelf to the Roman Catholic religion, or to any part belonging to it.

Interrog. 13. When the Prince found it convenient for his affairs, and his duty to his father, to return, did you oppoſe it or no, and if you did, then upon what grounds?

Anſw. He ſaith, when the Prince found it convenient for his affairs, and his duty towards his father, to return, he did never oppoſe it; but he remembereth, four or five days before Mr. Secretary Cottington was ſent out of Spain into England, there was ſome ſerious debate before the Prince, about his going or ſending Sir Francis Cottington; at which time he ſpoke that which, in his judgment and conſcience, he thought fitteſt for the King and Prince's ſervice, as befitteth a Miniſter and Counſellor of the King to do; and this was about the 25th of May, ſome months before any thing was concluded, and divers months before the Prince's departure out of Spain; and all things after this were approved and ratified by the King and Prince.

Interrog. 14. When there was an addition of articles, and a diſtinction between public and private articles, did you then perſuade the Prince to come into thoſe articles of addition, did you aſſure or perſuade him, that the oath was required only to the public articles, and not to the private, and did you deal plainly with him in that or no?

Anſw. To the firſt clauſe he ſaith, that in the articles of addition he never perſuaded the Prince to any, but unto ſuch as he had order

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from the King ſufficiently to warrant him; and he ſaith, that all the ſaid articles of addition were ſettled in a junto of the commiſſioners on both ſides, where the Prince was pleaſed to aſſiſt himſelf in perſon, where all things, as they were concluded, were drawn up into a formal kind of journal, by the Secretary Cirica, and Mr. Secretary Cottington, out of which all the particular articles were to be drawn, as well thoſe that were to be ſworn, as thoſe which were only to be ſigned or promiſed, for which the ſaid journal ſerved as a rule. All the articles and all things elſe, which the King of Spain was to promiſe, were afterwards drawn up into the body of one entire treaty, whereof he knew nothing. But the Prince ſwore not all contained in the ſaid volume, for much thereof belonged not to him, but to the King of Spain, and he ſwore only to thoſe particulars, which were agreed he ſhould ſwear to, and ſo it was expreſſed by the Secretary at the taking of his oath, in theſe very words, *V. A. juro io que a de jurar, prometto que a de prometer.* That the Prince ſhould ſwear that which it was agreed he ſhould ſwear, and promiſe what was agreed he ſhould promiſe. And indeed, in the body of every article, it is punctually ſet down whether it be to be ſworn, or ſigned, or to be promiſed; and this is the truth of that which really paſſed, wherein, as he underſtandeth it, there hath been committed no kind of error, neither did he ever hear it queſtioned until now. And he ſaith, that he did then deal plainly with his Highneſs, as he doth now truly with his Majeſty.

Interrog. 15. Did you not find by the Prince, that he took himſelf neglected, and attempted on to be oppreſſed, by the Spaniſh Miniſters, in their demands?

Anſw. To the firſt part of this interrogatory he ſaith, that he doth not remember that ever he found by the Prince, that he took himſelf to be neglected, neither ever ſaw he cauſe for it, during the Prince's being there; for it was not poſſible that there could be an higher eſtimation and value ſet upon the worth and perſon of any man, than he underſtood

underſtood ever to be in that Court, of the Prince's perſon and virtue. Petty omiſſions in matter of ſervice or entertainment, it may be there were many, but other neglects he never remembereth to have obſerved the Prince to take notice of, neither doth he believe that the Prince ever did; in which belief he is confirmed by his Majeſty's letters bearing date the 18th of October, written ſince the Prince's coming home, in theſe words following, "We will that you repair "preſently to the King, and give him knowledge of the ſafe arrival "of our dear ſon to our Court, ſo ſatisfied and taken with the great "entertainment, perſonal kindneſs, favour, and reſpect he hath re-"ceived from that King and Court, as he ſeems not able to magnify "it ſufficiently; which maketh us not to know how ſufficiently to "give thanks; but will that you by all means endeavour to expreſs "our thankfulneſs to that King and the reſt, to whom it belongeth, "in the beſt and moſt ample manner you can." The Prince, by his letters of the ſame date, commandeth him to aſſure that King, that he will never forget the favours he did him whilſt he was in his Court; ſo that he conceiveth he hath no cauſe to judge that the Prince held himſelf neglected. For the ſecond point, it is true, that, under colour that the King of Spain was to take an oath to the Pope, for the performance of all that was by his Majeſty promiſed in point of religion, they inſiſted, as it were for a counter-ſecurity, upon many things which were never before ſpoken of; but it was well known that he dealt freely with the Condé of Gondemar, and the Condé of Olivares, letting them know, that it was an unworthy and a diſcourteous proceeding with his Highneſs, to make his condition the harder for the great obligation he had put upon them, by ſo freely putting his perſon into their hands. For they well knew that the buſineſs was ſettled and agreed with the Earl of Briſtol before the Prince's coming. And therefore, now to inſiſt upon any thing further, was neither noble nor fair proceeding. Hereupon they grew very diſcontented with him, and laboured, as much as was poſſible, to avoid

him,

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him, of all men living, in their further negociation; and that this was really ſo, and not now alleged by way of anſwer, will appear by his letters unto his Majeſty, of the 9th of September 1623; ſo that in this particular he then did, and ſtill doth, much blame the courſe they held with his Highneſs.

Interrog. 16. Whether had you ever any information given you (as riſing from faith to his Majeſty) that the Match was not intended but to win time, except his Majeſty would grant an abſolute toleration of religion in his dominions, and a reſtoration of the rebels and fugitives of Ireland to their eſtates; and of any attempts to be made againſt any of his Majeſty's dominions, if the Match ſhould break?

Anſw. To the 16th he ſaith, that if any particular perſon, or the time, had been ſpecified in the interrogatory, he would have made a clear anſwer, which now he only can do by conjecture; for that divers (ſome by way of intelligence, ſome to cozen him, and to raiſe diſtruſt, ſet on by the Miniſters of other Princes, that deſired to croſs the Match), have ſpoken to him ſomewhat towards the effect of this Interrogatory. But the party that he remembereth to have ſpoken unto him, neareſt to all the points of this interrogatory, was one Mr. Laſcelles at Bruſſels; but there was no kind of ground or probability in any thing that he ſaid; only, being in want, he deſired to have got ſome money of him, and pretended to ſerve the King, by way of giving intelligence, ſo that he might have an entertainment, which he promiſed to acquaint the King withal, as he did at his return; but, as he remembereth, the King ſaid, he was an idle cozening fellow, and would not give way to have any thing given him. Divers others may have ſpoken to him ſomething tending to this purpoſe, whereof he remembereth not the particulars, but he uſed not to make ſuch kind of men's frivolous or fancied adventures, a rule for the guiding of his actions and judgment: that which he relied on was, the ſolid judgment and advertiſement of Sir Francis Cottington, and Sir Walter Aſton, out of Spain, as will appear by their

their ſeveral diſpatches; and his laſt embaſſage into Spain was grounded upon the aſſurances and profeſſions which were made in Spain unto them, that this young King meant really to purſue the treaties, which were on foot with his father, and to proceed with his Majeſty in the ſpeedy effecting of them.

Interrog. 17. Whether did you give advice to the Prince to ſtay till Chriſtmas, and ſo conſequently to the Spring, in hope to bring the Infanta with him?

Anſw. He doth not remember poſitively to have given the Prince any ſuch advice, to ſtay till Chriſtmas or the Spring; but thinketh, that, by way of pondering and debating the caſe, he may have held diſcourſe with the Prince tending to that effect.

Interrog. 18. When the Prince was returned, and his Majeſty expreſſed to you, by his letters, his reſolution to couple the proceedings of the Match, and reſtitution of the Palatinate together, and you had taken knowledge of it, why did you change your counſels, and appoint a certain day for the *deſpoſorios*, and that ſo ſhortly, as it was no ordinary diligence that could or did prevent it?

Anſw. Firſt, he ſaith, For his proceedings to conſummate the Match, he hath warrant and inſtructions under the King's hand. Secondly, It was the main ſcope of his embaſſage. Thirdly, He was enjoined it by the King's and Prince's commandments under their great ſeals. Fourthly, He hath poſitive orders under the King's hand by letters ſince. Fifthly, It was agreed by capitulation to be within ten days after the coming of the diſpenſation. Sixthly, The King and Prince had ſworn unto the treaty. Seventhly, They ſignified to him, by their letters at the very ſame time, that they intended to proceed in the marriage, and renewed the Prince's powers. Eighthly, The powers were to that end left in his hands. Ninthly, The Prince's royal word, being in the body of the powers engaged, that they ſhould have due execution until Chriſtmas, without revocation or impeachment, he could not ſtop them without expreſs order,

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which, as ſoon as he had, he obeyed. Tenthly, He had overthrown the marriage without order, for the King of Spain proteſted to be free of the treaty, if the *deſpoſorios* ſhould be deferred. Eleventhly, He durſt not, without a preciſe warrant, put ſuch a ſcorn upon a lady whom he then eſteemed the Prince's wife, or ſpouſe at leaſt, for as ſuch he was commanded to ſerve her. Twelfthly, He was himſelf ſworn to the treaty. Laſtly, He would not, in honour and honeſty, but endeavour to perform that public truſt which was repoſed in him, when the powers were depoſited in his hands, with public and legal declaration, taken into an inſtrument by the Secretary of State, leading and directing the uſe of them, and this being now *Inſtrumentum ſtipulatum*, wherein the King of Spain was intereſted, as well by acceptation of the ſubſtitutes, as the Prince by granting the powers, he could not in honeſty fail that public truſt, without clear and undoubted warrant: and indeed that was to be public, and with conſent, or at leaſt with notice given of it to the King of Spain. The Earl of Briſtol now deſireth, that all countermands may be produced, not in generalities, but in the formal words, and then it will appear if they be ſuch as might warrant againſt the above-ſpecified orders and reaſons; for he findeth (under favour) that what he hath been charged withal, formerly by letters, and now is alleged to have been directed him, is far differing from any ſenſe he could ever make out of the ſuppoſed direction; and ſo likewiſe what is aſſumed out of his diſpatches, will appear to be miſunderſtood. But herein he deſireth that no regard may be had to general allegations, by words of mouth, but that the original papers may be produced and examined, and that by them the cauſe may be truly ſtated and judged. But he further ſaith, that if the reſolution ſpecified in the interrogatory had been an abſolute and direct command, as it was far from it (as will be after ſhewn), yet he had incurred no kind of blame, for he had an abſolute anſwer in the buſineſs of the Palatinate, as will appear by the joint diſpatch of Sir Walter Aſton and himſelf,

himſelf, of the 23d of November; and the Condé of Olivares wiſhed them, upon their honours and their lives, to anſwer his Majeſty, that he ſhould have entire ſatisfaction: and ſo much was in a formal anſwer to have been delivered in writing, which was the anſwer afterwards ſent the 8th of January, before he could have delivered the Prince his powers: and both he and Sir Walter Aſton were ſo confident that they had complied with his Majeſty's deſire herein, that they gave him the *Parabien* thereof by their ſaid letters of the 23d of November, writing as followeth: "We hope that your "Majeſty may, according to your Majeſty's deſire ſignified to me "the Earl of Briſtol, by your letters of the 8th of October, give as well "unto your Majeſty's royal daughter, this Chriſtmas, the comfortable "news of the near expiring of her great troubles and ſufferings, "as to the Prince, your ſon, the congratulation of being married to "a moſt worthy and excellent Princeſs;" by which it will appear that he intended not to have left the buſineſs of the Palatinate looſe, when he meant to have proceeded to the marriage. But he muſt confeſs, that he was of opinion ever, that the beſt pawn and aſſurance his Majeſty could have for the real proceeding in the buſineſs of the Palatinate was, that they proceeded really by the effecting of the Match. And this was ever the opinion of my Lords the Commiſſioners, and of his Majeſty himſelf, as will appear by his inſtructions of the 14th of March 1621, ſigned with the King's hand, viz. "We conceive if the King of Spain hath not a real and ſincere in-"tention of giving ſatisfaction in that which concerns our ſon-in-"law, he would never proceed to a concluſion of the Match. And "we ſhall judge it is an undoubted argument of his meaning to "gratify us in the buſineſs of the Palatinate, in caſe he ſhall go "on with the Match." And this opinion ſtill continued in his Majeſty and my Lords; for in the King's letter of the 7th of January 1622, his Majeſty is pleaſed to write: "This was the "reaſon that moved us, at the inſtance of our Council, to urge the

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" buſineſs of the Palatinate, ſo as to bring it to a ſpeedy point." Not but that the very preciſeſt of them were always of opinion, that if the Match were once concluded, the other buſineſs would be accommodated to our ſatisfaction: ſo that he conceiveth, that had this reſolution been a preciſe commandment, he had made no fault, but had complied fully with it, in coupling the two buſineſſes together; and had produced ample warrants for the directing of his judgment therein: but he ſaith, the cauſe is far different, for this reſolution of his Majeſty was only ſignified unto him by his letters of the 8th of October, by which he is required ſo to endeavour, that his Majeſty may have the joy of both at Chriſtmas; which had been effected, had he not been interrupted. And there was no other way in the world but by proceeding to the marriage, jointly with ſo real a promiſe as he had in the buſineſs of the Palatinate, whereby there was any poſſibility of ſatisfying his Majeſty's deſire of having the joy of both at Chriſtmas, but that both muſt otherwiſe be overthrown, for the Match was, by this direction, for ſeveral reſpects, rendered impoſſible. Firſt, a marriage being a reciprocal act, the day of celebration cannot be appointed but by a common conſent of both parties; but the King of Spain would by no means condeſcend to the prolonging of the day beyond the term limited by the capitulation, which was within ten days after the coming of the diſpenſation, but made it formally to be proteſted, That in caſe the Earl of Briſtol ſhould inſiſt upon the deferring of the *deſpoſorios*, he would hold himſelf freed from the treaty, the Earl of Briſtol infringing the capitulations. Secondly, although the King of Spain ſhould have condeſcended to have had the *deſpoſorios* prorogued until Chriſtmas, yet was there another impoſſibility, by reaſon of the expiring of the Prince's powers before; beſides the ſcorn which would have been put upon the King of Spain and his ſiſter, by nominating a day for the marriage, when the powers are out of date; and this is by his Majeſty himſelf acknowledged, in his letter of the 13th of November

1623, as followeth: "We have received your letters of the 8th of "October, and the copy of that power which was left by our dear "son; we have examined and approved your reasons, and do assure "you, that if we had seen the power left by our son, before our last "letter, we had not written to you in the form we did, in our letters "of the 8th of October, touching the time of Christmas." So that it is apparent that the Earl of Bristol is no way to be charged with any inferences out of this letter, which the King himself acknowledgeth to have been grounded upon want of due information. So that all the fault that herein hath been committed, was certainly the concealing of the expiration of the powers from the King, which can no way be attributed to the Earl of Bristol. But pre-supposing there had been no such error or mistaking, as his Majesty is pleased to take notice of in his said letters before, of the 8th of October, yet the Earl of Bristol saith, he might not have done otherwise than he did, for there was nothing expressed in the said letter, but a desire of his Majesty's, that the marriage should be at Christmas, but no positive order that it should not be before. Nor in the business of the Palatinate was there any order to make it a condition of the marriage or to be annext unto it, as without it to break the marriage; whereas his main instruction, bearing date the 4th of March 1621, under the King's hand, directeth him as followeth: "We would "have you by all means to press the restitution of the Palatinate, "but not so as to make the treaty of the marriage any way de-"pendent thereon." And his Majesty in his letters of the 30th of December, expressing his meaning in the former letters of the 8th of October, saith, "We have received your joint dispatch in the 6th "of December; (viz.) our words, that ever express our meaning, "were, that both our affection and our dear son's did constantly "pursue, with all earnestness, the marriage with that excellent "Princess; our interpretation to you in direct terms was (as we "declare it to be our meaning) not to press the restitution of the

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"Palatinate and electoral dignity as a condition of the marriage." Now the caſe ſtanding thus, he referreth it humbly to his Majeſty's wiſdom not only whether he be free from fault herein; but whether, without great fault and imprudence, he could have done otherwiſe; for he muſt, upon inferences and collection (and theſe ſuch as were acknowledged to have been upon wrong information), have gone againſt his poſitive and clear orders and inſtruction, under the King's own hand. It is true, that an Ambaſſador may ſometimes take inferences of warrants, but it muſt be only when apparently it effecteth or helpeth forward that which he is employed about, but not when it overthroweth or croſſeth the main drift and ſcope of his employment, as it was in this caſe; for the King of Spain requiring the Earl of Briſtol to proceed, or to free him from the treaty, he had been highly faulty to have gone againſt his Majeſty's inſtructions, and to have overthrown the errand he was employed in, without clear direction and *mandato ſpeciali*.

To the ſecond clauſe he ſaith, he did not change his counſels, and that, under correction, his diſpatches have been much miſtaken in that point, for the caſe ſtands as followeth: Sir Walter Aſton and the Earl of Briſtol had uſed all induſtry that was poſſible to diſcover how the motion of the deferring of the *deſpoſorios*, upon the coming of the diſpenſation, would be taken there, and finding an abſolute reſolution in the King, to proceed punctually according to the capitulations, within ten days after the coming of the diſpenſation; and at the ſame time likewiſe getting advertiſement from Rome, that the diſpenſation was granted, and would preſently be there; upon this occaſion, and no alteration of his reſolution (to the end that in ſo great a caſe he might have a clear and undoubted underſtanding of his Majeſty's pleaſure), he diſpatched away with great diligence, letting his Majeſty know, that it would not be poſſible for him to protract the marriage above twenty-four days, unleſs he ſhould hazard the breaking

ing of it, for which he had not warrant; but that this was no reſolution, nor that the King was no ways ſo ſtraitened in time, as is pretended, will appear by the diſpatch of the Earl of Briſtol's of the 24th of September 1623. In which, upon the ſcruple that was made of the Infanta's entering into religion, he writeth the ſame which he did in the diſpatch of the 1ſt of November, viz. That if the diſpenſation ſhould come, he knew no means how to detain the powers above twenty or twenty-four days; ſo that although this difficulty happened not until the middle of November, yet it was foreſeen that it muſt of neceſſity happen, whenſoever the diſpenſation ſhould come, and there was warning of two months time given thereof, viz. from the 14th of September until the 29th of November, which was the day appointed for the *deſpoſorios*, which were prevented by the arrival of his Majeſty's letters, commanding the ſtay of them, bearing date the 13th of November 1623, *ſt°. vet.* So that he ſhall moſt willingly ſubmit himſelf to his Majeſty's cenſure, which was the ſafer, or the dutifuller way, to have, upon inferences, overthrown ſo great a buſineſs, (for to that iſſue it was brought), and he required either to proceed to the *deſpoſorios* according to capitulations, or to have ſet the King of Spain free from the treaty; or, on the other ſide, firſt to have repreſented unto his Majeſty, with truth and ſincerity, as he did, the true ſtate of his affairs, with his humble opinion, viz. That it ſhould be judged a great diſgrace to the perſon of the Princeſs, to have the marriage deferred: That the King of Spain would eſteem it a great ſcorn put upon him, to have a day nominated for the marriage, when the powers ſhould be expired: That the engagements by oaths, and otherwiſe, on both ſides, are great: That the detention of the powers without ſome emergent cauſe, would be ſubject to conſtruction: That this Match ſo much deſired by his Majeſty would be overthrown, or at leaſt much time loſt: That the concluſion of the Match would in all likelihood ſecure the reſtitution of the Palatinate. And in caſe theſe reaſons ſhould not perſuade

his

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Interrog. 19. Whether had you a reſolution for the reſtitution of the Palatinate, and eſtabliſhment for the temporal articles, before that day?

Anſw. For the firſt part of this interrogatory, he conceiveth to have fully ſatisfied it, in his anſwer to the precedent article. Touching

ing the ſecond part thereof, concerning the temporal articles, he ſaith, that when the *deſpoſorios* was appointed to have been (as he remembereth) on Friday the 29th of Auguſt before the Prince's departure out of Spain, which was only hindered becauſe the diſpenſation came not, the Prince appointed Sir Walter Aſton and himſelf, to meet with the Spaniſh Commiſſioners, and they drew up the heads of the temporal articles, wherewith the Prince and the Duke of Buckingham were made acquainted; and in caſe the diſpenſation had come, and the *deſpoſorios* been performed on that day, there had been no other proviſion made for them before the marriage. But preſently upon the Prince's departure, he cauſed them to be drawn into a form, and ſent them to his Majeſty on the 27th of September 1623, deſiring to underſtand his Majeſty's pleaſure with all poſſible ſpeed, eſpecially in caſe he diſapproved any thing, but never received notice of his diſliking of any of them, until he recovered thoſe letters which put off the *deſpoſorios*. Yet notwithſtanding, Sir Walter Aſton and he were very careful to have ſettled the temporal articles, and they were not only to have been ſigned before the day of the *deſpoſorios*, but they had begun to treat upon points of conveyance and confederation, as he ſhall more particularly make known unto his Majeſty, when he ſhall have the happineſs to wait upon him.

Interrog. 20. When the approbation of the diſpenſation came from Rome (which, by a conditional article, was to come clear), why did you accept of it without ſtanding upon the juſt exceptions, and ſo ſeem to redeem the King and his Miniſters from the breach of the treaty, and caſt colour of fault upon his Majeſty and the Prince, who were wholly innocent, and had been clearly apparent ſo, if you had made right uſe of it?

Anſw. He ſaith, that when the diſpenſation came from Rome, it no way belonged to him to take exceptions unto it, neither did he accept

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accept of it, for it was an article agreed, that his Majeſty ſhould have nothing to do with the diſpenſation; but it being only for the ſatisfaction of the King of Spain, he was to procure it in ſuch ſort, as was to ſatisfy his own conſcience; neither was it any thing to his Majeſty, whether there were any diſpenſation or not. That therefore the diſpenſation could not but be judged clear, when the King of Spain reſted ſatisfied, and deſired to proceed to the effecting of the marriage, without inſiſting upon any further demands. And this was truly the caſe, for the Condé de Olivares, the very night the diſpenſation arrived, ſent him word thereof, requiring to proceed to the *deſpoſorios* according to the capitulations; but he replied, that he would take no notice of the diſpenſation to be come, nor clear, until it were in the King's hands, whereupon the next day divers Commiſſioners came, deſiring ſome declaration, in ſome points agreed of, and the mending of ſome words according to the journal of the treaty, which was agreed ſhould be the rule for the drawing of the articles, but he abſolutely denied them all, refuſing ſo much as to change or add any one word or tittle; and this he did only to gain time, as he did for twelve days, to the end he might receive directions in the mean time from his Majeſty, ere he would ſee any one condition or article inſtanced, in which was added for the clearing the diſpenſation by him; and the Nuncio ſeeing he could get no more, delivered in clearly the diſpenſation to the King; for his order indeed was to aſſay the getting of thoſe alterations, but not ſo to inſiſt upon them, as any way to retain the buſineſs for them. Now when the diſpenſation was thus in the King's hands, and he, by his Secretary, adviſing as much, and that he was ready to proceed to the marriage, he conceiveth there neither could, nor can queſtion be made of the clearneſs of it, that is to ſay after it was in the King's hands; for before, he admitted not of it, as will well appear, for that he would not ſuffer the ten days, within which, by the capitulations, the *deſpoſorios*, were to be after the coming of the diſpenſation, to be accounted from the arrival

of it in Madrid, but from the time that it was clear in the King's hand. On the other ſide he ſaith, he was careful to do nothing that might clog the buſineſs; for knowing how much his Majeſty had deſired the Match, and being, by his Majeſty's letters of the 8th of October, commanded to proceed to the marriage at Chriſtmas, and the Prince ſaying in his letter of the ſame date, that he was induced to yield to the deferring of the marriage till Chriſtmas, becauſe the King might have an anſwer before that time, in the buſineſs of the Palatinate, and ſo no time need to be loſt in a buſineſs he deſired ſo much; and afterwards in the ſaid letter he ſaith, "I have written "this, that you may know from me, as well as from the King my "father, the intent of this direction, which I aſſure you is no way "to break the Match;" he leaveth it to his Majeſty's juſt and wiſe judgment, whether it ſhould not have been on the one ſide, an undutiful, unwiſe, and unſafe courſe for him to have raiſed any ſuch difficulty, as ſhould not have been in his power always to allay it, or as could not have been poſſible to have been cleared from England, before the time deſired by his Majeſty, which was Chriſtmas, in caſe the King of Spain ſhould have been perſuaded to have prorogued the *deſpoſorios* until then; and on the other ſide, to have done or omitted any that might have given the Spaniard juſt colour or pretext of delay, or drawn the default on myſelf. It having been then made an objection againſt the buſineſs and himſelf, that all had been treated only to gain time, and entertain his Majeſty, without any real intention of making the Match; and therefore it ill befitted him to be the raiſer of any new delays, but to bring the buſineſs to a ſpeedy iſſue; and yet he ſeemeth to remain under cenſure, for that it hath not ſucceeded, ſo that at one time he is queſtioned to have proceeded, and blamed becauſe he ſucceeded not. As for the redeeming of the King of Spain, and his Miniſters, from the breach of the treaty, for caſting any colour of fault on his Majeſty or Highneſs, he conceiveth he cannot but be abſolutely free from it; for until after he was taken

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from the employment, he never underſtood the treaty to be broken, but only ſuſpended until the buſineſs of the Palatinate were ſettled; for by all his Majeſty's and the Prince's letters, even until he was recalled, he never knew any other intent but to proceed therein; and to that end likewiſe the Prince's powers were renewed unto him; and ſince the taking of the buſineſs off his hands, he ſaith, he hath ſo much deſired the having nothing to do therewith, that he ingenuouſly confeſſeth, that he knoweth not how, or wherefore it was broken, on the one ſide or on the other.

This is the moſt humble anſwer of the Earl of Briſtol, intended for his Majeſty's private ſatisfaction, together with ſuch things as he reſerveth to be delivered by word of mouth to his Majeſty, when he ſhall be permitted to wait on him: but if his Majeſty ſhall be pleaſed to call him to any further trial, he then declareth, for brevity ſake, and many other reaſons, he hath reſerved the greateſt and moſt important part of his defence, from which he deſireth he may not hereafter be debarred; neither giveth himſelf for concluded by this anſwer, unleſs his Majeſty be clearly and fully ſatisfied, as he hopeth he will. He further humbly beſeecheth, that he may not be charged with any error in this his anſwer, either for defect in words, or for any thing that was not of fault before, or that can only be gathered out of ſome defect or error of his anſwer, and not out of things not charged; ſince he knoweth his Majeſty's moſt pious intent was, by theſe queſtions, to have ſuppoſed paſt faults examined, and not occaſion to be adminiſtered by them of committing new.

No. XXVIII.

Papers relative to the French Match.

From the originals in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke.

[King James purſuing the ſame weak ſyſtem of policy, that his ſon could not be honourably matched but with a Catholic Princeſs, opened a treaty for a marriage with France, as ſoon as that with Spain was diſſolved. He employed in the negociation two of his principal courtiers and favourites, whoſe names and characters are ſufficiently known from the hiſtories of that time. It is proper to obſerve, however, that the Earl of Carliſle (Hay) appears to have been a Miniſter of a more generous ſpirit, and leſs tractable diſpoſition, than his colleague Holland.

The following documents are publiſhed, for the firſt time, from the originals, and as they open ſome of the ſecret paſſages of that negociation, are thought not undeſerving the public notice. The terms granted to the Papiſts in favour of this marriage, were as little compatible with the laws of the kingdom, or with ſound policy, as thoſe agreed to in the treaty with Spain. However engaging and amiable the French Princeſs was in her perſon and accompliſhments, her fatal influence in the Councils of her huſband, and her conſtant attachment to the Popiſh intereſt at home and abroad, are too notorious to be enlarged upon here.]

From Secretary Conway to Lord Carliſle and Lord Holland.

Right Honourable, Rufford, 12th Aug. 1624.

YOUR joint letter of the 17th of this preſent, *ſto. novo*, I received the 11th late at night, by the hands of Cook. I did this morning repreſent it to his Majeſty, who found it very ſtrange that

JAMES I. 1624. his good brother ſhould make ſo ſtrange uſe of his diſpleaſure to his Miniſter* the Marquis *de Vieuville*, as to make his ambition or inordinate actions reflect upon his Majeſty, and change, or give ſtop to ſo happy a negociation.

His Majeſty's pleaſure is, that you jointly addreſs yourſelves to that King, and that you declare to him, that his Majeſty cannot believe that his good brother the French King means to take up the faſhion of Spain to intangle this buſineſs, of ſo high and clear condition, with advancements and retractions, to ſpin out time and expectations unprofitably; nor can his Majeſty underſtand it for reaſon, to change the ſtate and degree this treaty was in, by diſavowing his Miniſter, who being, according to public faith, in his general calling and practice, and further authoriſed by a letter of credit, with which alſo hath concurred the overtures and aſſurances of that King's Extraordinary Ambaſſador the † Marquis de Fiatt.

Further, his Majeſty's pleaſure is, that you declare to his dear brother, that he expects that King, for his own honour as well as for reſpect to his Majeſty, and for the good faith which he repoſeth in that King's Miniſters, ſhould make good their overtures and promiſes to him, and not ſuffer him to partake of the wrong and puniſhment, which is but that which his Majeſty would make good to his dear brother in the like caſe, howſoever he ſhould puniſh the Miniſter; for it is eaſy to ſee, how unſafe it is to treat at all, if the diſavowing of a Miniſter ſhould be a juſt ſatisfaction to the treaty, and a diſcharge to that King that ſhould ſo diſavow his Miniſter.

Further his Majeſty's pleaſure is, that you declare to that King, that in caſe he ſhall reſolve, by the diſavowing of the Marquis de Vieuville, after his Majeſty's proteſtation, that he cannot agree to any article, nor go further than the letter which was required, and which he hath conſented to, and ſhall preſs his Majeſty to further articles, which the government and reaſon of ſtate of his kingdoms and

* Juſt removed from being Surintendant des Finances.
† Ambaſſador here.

people

people will not permit, he can make no other conſtruction of it, but that the moſt Chriſtian King his brother ſeeks occaſion to break the treaty; and ſo his Majeſty wills that you declare that neceſſarily to be an end of the treaty, which his Majeſty hath purſued with ſo paſſionate affection, and for ſo good ends, both for Chriſtendom and theſe two crowns. His Majeſty's pleaſure is, you preſs earneſtly that King upon theſe points, and lay down to him in writing, both what the Marquis de Vieuville ſaid to you of the ſatisfaction ſhould be taken by a letter, and that not to leave that King ſuch a gap to ſcape out by; as alſo the aſſurances given to his Majeſty by the Marquis de Fiatt, which, added to your own arguments, will be ſufficient to reduce him to the conditions propounded, or bring it to a reſolution, that the treaty is wholly ended. JAMES I. 1624.

And if you ſhall not find that before this come to you, or upon theſe remonſtrances, that King ſhall not have retracted that ſtrange drawing off, but reſts upon his power to decline the accord upon the diſavowing of his Miniſter. His Majeſty's pleaſure is, that you require of that King permiſſion (in the company of ſome confident ſervant of that King), to have acceſs to the Marquis de Vieuville, to the end to demand of him, by what warrant he moved the Lord Kenſington to aſſure his Majeſty that a letter * only under his Majeſty's hand ſhould be ſatisfactory, that ſo Vieuville's condemnation wholly, and his Majeſty's ſatisfaction in part, may come out of Vieuville's own mouth.

And this is that which I have in charge, which, for obedience to your commandments, I have haſted ſo, as you find abundance of errors; excuſe it for his ſake that ſubmits all he may be valued by otherwiſe, to the mere affection of being eſteemed, &c.

Your Lordſhip's, &c.

* This letter related to ſome terms for the Papiſts, which the King did not chuſe to avow publickly.

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From Walter Montague to the Earl of Carliſle.

My Lord,

THIS day being Saturday, ſince the arrival of Monſieur de la Riviere, Monſ. de Fiatt came to court, bringing the inſtructions he had received out of France to preſent to the King the alteration of many words in the King's laſt explanation, which they pretended to be prejudicial to the Pope, and the alteration of them to be no ways to us. He alledged this reaſon for this laſt demand, that they had treated with the Nuncio to procure the delivery of the diſpenſation, letting him know the neceſſity of making the marriage, and the impoſſibility of obtaining their laſt demand; how far the King of France had preſſed them to the hazarding of the buſineſs, ſo that there was no more to be expected but the King's laſt explanation, which he (the Nuncio) conſidering, took exceptions at many words that tended, he ſaid, more to the neglect than the ſatisfaction of the Pope, which words he adviſed them to endeavour to change, and copied over the laſt explanation, with many omiſſions and additions, which of themſelves can no longer endanger us, but by the ill conſequence any change now may bring with it: this laſt alteration of theirs they would have ſigned and dated, as the firſt are, to avoid the inconvenience of any new treaty; and upon the grant of this they pretend the diſpenſation may be delivered; and * Ville aux Clercs writes, that you will ſecond this their requeſt; for the King of France's letter to De Fiatt, commands him to obey Ville aux Clercs' order. De Fiatt, to ſweeten this, told my Lord, that this was not in the way of treaty, but of a civil requeſt from the King of France to the King of England, to deſire his favour in that which might import him his peace with the Pope, and no way diſturb our King

* French Secretary of State.

with any eſſential alteration: ſo that ſince the King of England might purchaſe to himſelf ſo great an obligation, and ſo important a ſecurity to the King of France at ſo eaſy a rate, he did not doubt of his chearful embracing it.

My Lord * at firſt was ſtartled at the name of changing, but at laſt went up to the King with both the copies, the King's own explanation, and the new one that came out of France, and came down with this anſwer; That the King wondered much that the King of France his brother would perſuade himſelf, that ſince this agreement he would be brought to alter the leaſt tittle agreed upon; that he might as well alter all the treaty as this particular; and that it concerned him only to ſatisfy *him*, not the Pope; and ſince he was ſatisfied, he might find ſome other means to content the Pope; and being it was but in the way of a requeſt, he could anſwer him no way, but by a requeſt to pardon him for the refuſal of it: and that when he ſhall hear from his Ambaſſadors accordingly, he would make his anſwer by them. De Fiatt then undertook to counſel my Lord, as a friend, to refer it to the Ambaſſadors; that they, if they found it no ways prejudicial to the King, might aſſent to it; if they did, to refuſe it. My Lord anſwered again, that he could refer nothing to them which he had not received from them, therefore he ought to pay them that reſpect, as to determine of nothing without their advice, which he expected ſhortly: ſo Fiatt was very well ſatisfied, and reſolved to expect your letters, and upon them to ſend his anſwer. My Lord hath writ to you, by this bearer, his mind in this point, preſſed you much to diſpatch De Fiatt's buſineſs, which, we expect by Goring's † journey, depends all upon that, and the raiſing of 40,000l. which will take ſome days, do we what we can. Your Lordſhip will have ſent away concerning this, before this come to you; this relation I made bold to trouble you with, as having the honour to be preſent at it. You both know the

* Conway. † Sir G. Goring.

heart

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heart and the head; the former will excuſe this, and all the reſt of my preſumptions. The Lord Steward's * place, the King ſays, ſhall be no more diſpoſed of.

The Prince being inquiſitive concerning your differences with the Miniſters, I made him the trueſt relation my memory could furniſh me with; in all particulars his Highneſs juſtified you ſo much, that he ſaid if you had done leſs you might have paſſed for kind men, but not for wiſe, and this I will make good upon him.

I have made him in love with every hair in Madam's head, and ſwears ſhe ſhall have no more powder, till he powder her himſelf.

My Lord Duke vowed to-day before De Fiatt, to do all he could to bring Holland the garter; how much that is you know.

My ſuit is, that if ever you have occaſion to ſpeak to the bleſſed Queen ‡ of any ill thing, that you expreſs it by naming me, for that's the only way I can hope ſhe ſhould care to hear of me again.

Thus hoping I have been ſufficiently troubleſome to your Lordſhip, I reſt, &c. &c. &c.

I know not the day of the month †.

From Lord Carliſle to the Duke of Buckingham.

Our moſt noble Lord, Paris, Oct. 2, 1624.

October 2. IF Mr. Packer's of the 16th had brought the wound without the cure, we mean his Highneſs's miſchance §, without his recovery, we had been ſwallowed up in ſorrow and confuſion; but the aſſu-

* Duke of Richmond, who was dead.

‡ Queen-mother of France.

† Walter Montague, the writer of this letter, afterwards turned Papiſt, and died Abbot of Pontoiſe, after the reſtoration. He was ſecond ſon to the Earl of Mancheſter.

§ A fall from his horſe.

rance

ance he gives us, that he is now well and merry, miniſters to us that abundance of joy, as we cannot contain from multiplying in humble thanks to your Lordſhip, who have been pleaſed ſo carefully to derive unto us the greateſt happineſs that could be, from the brink of the greateſt miſery and affliction; of this duty therefore we acquit ourſelf firſt, and in the next place eſteem it an effect of much nobleneſs and favour, that you carry ſo free and open an heart to us, as to communicate all that paſſes betwixt this King and your Lordſhip, out of whoſe letter we collected, what was carefully concealed from us before, Pere Hyacinth's overtures to the Miniſters of this State touching the Palatinate; which gave us occaſion to ſound the Cardinal * in that point; who finding it ſtrange, that we ſhould come to have any notice thereof (the friar having ſtipulated an oath from them to conceal it from us, out of a pretended conceit of our averſeneſs to his propoſitions, and a hope to find a more ſatisfactory anſwer from the King himſelf; who (ſaid he) had heretofore in a manner agreed to the motions) after that he had underſtood from us, that we had received ſome touch thereof from England (as now freed from his oath), he ingenuouſly related to us the whole ſtory; letting us know the offers to be, the reſtitution of the Lower Palatinate in preſent, the reſtitution of the Upper upon the reimburſement of twelve millions towards the expence, which the ſaid Duke pretends to have made in thoſe wars; but with condition of quitting the Electorate for ever, or at leaſt (and upon a modeſter ſuggeſtion of this State), till it might deſcend upon a Catholic branch of the Prince Palatine's own ſtock. Whereupon we let him know the falſehood of the friar, in alledging that facility in the King our maſter to ſuch unreaſonable conditions, and then how acceptable a thing it would be to his Majeſty, if this King and State would be pleaſed henceforth to ſhut their ears to ſuch impertinent intercourſes: Whereupon the Cardinal replied, That they had not liſtened thus

* Richlieu.

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far to any other end, than by amuſing the Duke with ſome hopes, to conceal the better their more ſecret intentions and reſolutions; and that from henceforth they would put him over to us, whom he wiſhed to entertain friendly, that it might help likewiſe the better to cover their deſigns, which (ſaid he) ſhall be rather with the ſword than pen or tongue; and to that purpoſe aſſured us that there were new commiſſions forth for the raiſing more forces towards an army of 16,000 men, which the King meant to put forth in the Meſſin, and to conduct the ſame in his own royal perſon. In the other buſineſs which your letter touches upon, we have ſtirred nothing, neither do we intend, till we receive a new commandment upon noble Goring his relation, whom we expect daily; and ſo we deſire your Lordſhip to do Monſieur de Botru from hence, whom this King means to poſt away, to congratulate the Prince his happy deliverance from ſo deſperate a danger. He will come in a private quality, but merits the entertainment of the greateſt Ambaſſador, both for that height of favour he is in with the King and Queen-mother; his intimateneſs with the Cardinal, and ſingular good offices he hath done in our buſineſs, which alone will make him welcome to your Lordſhip, whoſe hands we here moſt humbly kiſs, reſting in all humble devotion, &c.

P. S. That of Botru we humbly beſeech your Lordſhip to impart unto his Majeſty and Highneſs in great ſecret, and ſo to keep it till you hear further from us; for with this caution were we made privy to it. Your Lordſhip likewiſe will pleaſe to repreſent how cordially they proceed here in Mansfield's buſineſs; who has not only his money paid him, but his troops here are ready to march. So ſaith the Cardinal, and therefore deſires a like quick and effectual diſpatch of him in England, which your Lordſhip is intreated to procure *.

* This Botru went not, but his brother, a witty gentleman, and favourite of the Queen-mother's.

In the Earl of Carliſle's Hand-writing.

IT will be neceſſary his Majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be expreſſed in the inſtructions, in what form he will be content the marriage ſhall be ſolemnized by *procureur* in France. In the treat * for Madame Chriſtienne, his Majeſty did allow of the form which was uſed in the marriages of the laſt French King with Queen Marguerite and of that King's ſiſter with the Duke of Bare; but his Majeſty then required, that after the coming of the Lady into England there might be ſome new act performed before ſome of our Biſhops, for the ratifying of what had been done by *procureur*, by the declaration of the perſons themſelves. and that thereupon they ſhould receive the bleſſing of our church.

The French Commiſſioners diſliked this demand, as derogating from the rights of their own church; and laſt of all required to know what the form of the act ſhould be, which was to be repeated in England. It will be in vain to expect a marriage without a renunciation; for beſides that all their treaties with other States run upon that ſtrain, they hold it moſt neceſſary to be ſtipulated with us in regard of our other pretenſions, which they will not admit ſhould be fortified by a new title, not ſo much as to the collateral ſucceſſions: beſides, the two elder ſiſters having made renunciations, the youngeſt muſt not expect to be treated with more favour, and abſolutely it will be labour in vain for us to expect it. It is alſo to be remembered, that in the treaty with Madam Chriſtienne, his Majeſty did admit of the renunciation for the direct line, refuſing only the collateral.

The like may be ſaid for the reimburſement †, which is a general condition expreſſed in all treaties for the daughters of France, and

* In 1616.

† Of the portion.

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was not forgotten in the treaty his Majeſty made for his own daughter with the Elector Palatine, and it ſeemeth to be grounded upon reaſon and juſtice; for otherwiſe, if the Lady ſurvive her huſband, and have a deſire to return into her own country and marry again, either ſhe muſt be endowed the ſecond time, or elſe in ſecond marriage muſt depend wholly upon another ſtate for her maintenance, and their portion, having nothing to prefer her but her jointure, which may be made ſo much the leſs, according to the cuſtom of France, if you admit of a reimburſement.

Touching the charges of the tranſportation, they offer to defray her till ſhe embarked, and you to tranſport her in your ſhips. After ſhe is arrived in England, will you think fitting the French ſhould bear her charges to London? Touching the jewels which are demanded to the value of 15,000 *l.* ſterling, it is an article which is expreſſed in all treaties, and is of ſo ſmall a proportion, as is not to be ſtood upon.

From Secretary Conway to the Ambaſſadors.

Octob. 5th, 1624.

Right Honourable, *London, Oct. 5th*, 1624.

IN a part of my laſt to your Lordſhip, I gave you an account how his Majeſty had put in deliberation with his Council Conte Mansfelt's propoſitions, as alſo the advice the Lords had given for his Majeſty to comply in every part of them; but with condition, Firſt, To ſee the French King's hand both for ratification of the articles and conditions of the whole action; as alſo for approbation of the rendezvous of the Engliſh to be made in France, their quartering, marching, and conjunction with the French, and eaſe and favour in retreat, either in particular articles or general terms; but howſoever,

to

to be aſſured and confirmed by that King's ſignature made authentic. His Majeſty hath now ſo far approved of the Count Mansfelt's propoſitions, and the advice of his Council, yet with reſervation of this unmovable poſition, That the hand of his dear brother the French King muſt declare his conjunction in the action, before he put into execution any thing. Yet thus far his Majeſty hath moved, he hath ſigned a warrant unto his Council of war to pay unto Count Mansfelt, ſo ſoon as the French King's hand ſhall be ſeen, to the effect above ſpecified, 15000 *l.* in aſſiſting of his charge and arming of his troops; and 2000 *l.* a month, ſo long as the action ſhall laſt to the ends to be directed.

His Majeſty hath further conſented to the levy of 12000 men by preſs, to be tranſported at his coſt to the rendezvous in France; letters for the muſters are in hand, and commiſſions to be expedited, wherein, for the honour of our nation, and as a good preſage, we hear by Count Mansfelt, that the young Lord Hay's * good fortune ſhall guide a fourth part of the troop. His Majeſty hath written his letters of moſt gracious and ſerious recommendation unto the Prince of Orange, my Lords the States, and thoſe of Embden, for favour to the perſon, freedom and equity to be ſhewed to Count Mansfelt in his pretences, paſſage, rendezvous, and accommodation, with an intimation of the merit of his paſt and future actions, done and to be done, for the public good, and particular intereſt and ſervice of his Majeſty's dear children.

His Majeſty hath commanded me to ſhew your Lordſhip how far he is advanced upon this work; the rather for your confidence, encouragement, and recommendation, and to the end that he may not extend himſelf further in a work of oſtentation, that may ſucceed vain, nor make fruitleſs expences, which the preſent condition of this ſtate hath leaſt need of; he commanded me to make this expreſs diſpatch to you, of which he requires an anſwer with all the expedition you

* Son to Lord Carliſle.

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may, and there cannot appear a better ground for your Lordſhip's preſſing a clear underſtanding in this point, than the firſt motions of this coming from France; the ſhortneſs and neceſſity of time requiring ſpeedy execution, which challengeth, of neceſſity, an expreſſion under that King's hand of his conſent for the landing, quartering, and marching of the Engliſh, to keep it from being an act of hoſtility, and is conſonant with the league of defence which, by your inſtructions, you are to treat for before the alliance, but was remitted, for comelineſs' ſake, until the treaty of the marriage had an iſſue.

This is the charge that I have received, to which I can add nothing, but the eſtabliſhment of a noble perſon, Sir Robert Naunton into the Maſterſhip of the Wards; and the effects of an outrageous ſtorm which caſt a ſhip of his Majeſty's into a great deal of danger upon a land called the Brake, from whence ſhe was hardly ſaved; a ſmall pink of my Lord Admiral's ſunk, and all the ſhips diſordered, and thirteen or fourteen caſt away, with all their men. One of the Dunkirk ſhips eſcaped by plain ſailing, and another attempted it in that great ſtreſs of weather, but whether eſcaped or ſunk we know not yet, but a great diſorder happened upon her attempt to go; for a Hollander falling upon her, the King's ſhip came in to part them, and letting fly equally at them both, with blows of the cannon equally diſtributed, perſuaded them to peace. How the King will take that ſaucineſs at the Hollander's hands I know not. And now like a gentle and ſweet calm after this ſtorm, give me leave to tell you the King at Royſton, thanks be to God, and the Prince at Hampton Court, are both in good health, and the moſt excellent Duke, gracious Buckingham, is ſeeking after health, in Wallingford houſe, with a chearful mind and glad countenance, which makes him hope he is in the way to find it. And if I knew in what way to put myſelf to find your commandments, and obey them to your advantage, I would travel to any part for them; from whence I beſeech you to judge that I attend them here with the devotion of

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble and
obedient ſervant, &c. &c.

From Lord Carliſle to the Prince.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, *Paris, Oct. 7th*, 1624.

AS your Highneſs will perceive by our letters to Mr. Secretary, we have preſſed, by all the arguments and inſtances we were able, firſt the acceptance of his Majeſty's letter inſtead of the *eſcrit particulier*, and afterwards that they would join with us in a real aſſociation, for the reſtoring of the Palatinate, and patrimonial dignities of his Majeſty's children, *en leur premiere eſtre*, after ſuch time as the marriage ſhould be concluded and conſummate, offering in the mean while to content ourſelves with a promiſe in writing, to be ſigned by this King and his Commiſſioners, for the real performance thereof, with aſſurance alſo, that in the mean while they would not deſiſt to purſue their preparations and actual expeditions, ſuitable to their ſo frequent promiſes and pretences. But we have received a flat negative to our ſaid propoſitions, which gives us occaſion to ſuſpect either their fidelity, or elſe that the Marquis D'Effiat doth from time to time give them ſuch aſſurances of our facility in England, as doth traverſe all our negociations here. It may therefore pleaſe your Highneſs to give your humbleſt ſervant leave, out of his zeal and devotion to your Highneſs's ſervice, to repreſent unto your Highneſs, that our endeavours here will be fruitleſs unleſs you ſpeak unto the French Ambaſſador in a higher ſtrain, and that my Lord of Buckingham alſo hold the ſame language unto him. It is true that they do offer unto us this King's word for their aſſiſtance, and that their Ambaſſador ſhall give his Majeſty the like aſſurance; but what aſſurance can be given to the verbal promiſe of this people, who are ſo apt to retract or give new interpretations to their former words (eſpecially in a buſineſs of this high nature and importance), your Highneſs, out of your excellent wiſdom, will eaſily diſcern; neither will there be

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any hazard in ſpeaking to the Ambaſſador in a high language, conſidering how we have them here locked up, and engaged to conclude the marriage, whenſoever we ſhall condeſcend to their demands, touching the *eſcrit particulier*; and we are confident that if we may be vigorouſly aſſiſted in England, we ſhall draw them to better reaſon touching our ſecond propoſition, wherein it will be too much hazard, and leſs honourable to leave them looſe, and to engage ourſelves. And we are the rather of opinion that, notwithſtanding the countenance they make, they will be brought into reaſon rather than they will break off this matter, wherein they receive ſuch full ſatisfaction to all their demands. The Queen Mother having openly declared "qu'il meriteroit d'eſtre lapidé qui s'y oppoſeroit;" but I leave all to be weighed in the balance of your Highneſs's incomparable judgment, and with all humility, attend your Highneſs's further commandments. As being, &c. &c.

From Lords Carliſle and Holland to Secretary Conway.

Right Honourable, *Paris, Oct. 18th*, 1624.

Octob. 18th. ACCORDING to your order, that yours of the 25th brought us, we firſt preſented to the Commiſſioners here his Majeſty's * letters to be ſigned only by his own royal hand, and preſſed it by all the arguments that either you ſuggeſted or our own reaſon miniſtred unto us; but we did ſing a ſong to the deaf, for they would not endure to hear of it. In the next place we offered the ſame to be further ſigned by his Highneſs and a Secretary of State, wherein we pretended to come home to their own aſking; but this would not

* This related to ſome favours to the Catholics, which were not to be made public.

ſerve

ſerve the turn neither (though long and earneſtly conteſted by us), for out of a confidence they had, that his Majeſty would not ſcrupulouſly inſiſt upon the formality of an *Eſcript*, they had ſent that to Rome, and made it the baſis of all their work towards the Pope's diſpenſation, and therefore if they ſhould now go about to change the foundation, they ſhould hazard the whole fabrick, and leave the Pope poſſeſſed of jealouſies that the King our Maſter did but ſeek ways of more eaſe how to elude the Catholics expectation. And when they perceived that we continued to make new replies againſt this allegation, they endeavoured to cut all ſhort by telling us, they wondered much to ſee ſuch ſtiffneſs in us; when, as Monſieur de Fiatt had written to them from the King our Maſter's own mouth, his Majeſty had accorded whatſoever they ſought both for matter and form. We then offered to become the Marquis's interpreter, which was, by ſhewing all that fulfilled in this letter, ſo ſigned as was meant; but when they went further to aſſure us, that the grant was even to their own preſcribed form, we pretended much ſtrangeneſs at the matter, ſince we had received letters of a far other tenor; but here fitly inferred, upon his confidence of theirs, that if the King our Maſter was pleaſed to come ſo thoroughly home in all and every point of their demands, we hoped they would meet us by as frank and punctual obſervance of thoſe promiſes, which they might remember to be ſolemnly made at the beginning of this treaty, that no ſooner ſhall the articles of marriage be accorded, but before ever they preſſed the ſigning of them, they would enter into another treaty of league, not only defenſive but offenſive, for the Palatinate, and to prepare theſe articles alſo to be ſigned with the former. We found them not a little ſurprized by the motion; for Monſieur de la Ville-aux-Clercs had cauſed a fair draft of the articles for the marriage to be made, in hopes to ſee all our hands to them before we parted. Their anſwer was, that, for a defenſive league, there was one already, and if we thought that any force might be added to it by renewing it, they were very ready ſo to

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do; but, for the offenſive one, they never promiſed any till the marriage ſhould be conſummated, and then meant it not under writing, but by ſuch a real and actual performance, as they preſumed would be more ſatisfactory than all the articles in the world. We then ſhewed their own ſenſe to them, and convinced their conſciences, by a preciſe repetition of their own words, firſt in general to enter upon a treaty of the league, and then every one's in particular, ſhewing what league; "donnez nous des preſtres, quoth the Cardinal, et "nous vous donnerons des Colonels; donnez nous du faſte pour con-"tenter le Pape, (ſays le Vieuville,) et nous nous jetterons dans vos "intereſts à corps perdu; and ſuitably ſpake the Chancellor, nous "eſpouſerons touts vos intereſts comme nos propres." All which they confeſſed, but pretended to have ſufficiently ſatisfied by the actual concurrence of this King, which they commended further, by promiſing it in as large a latitude as his Majeſty's heart could deſire it. But to capitulate with us in writing, would but caſt rubs in the way of their diſpenſation, and make it altogether impoſſible, ſince it muſt needs highly offend the Pope to hear they ſhould enter into an offenſive league with Heretics againſt Catholics, and was like ſo far to ſcandalize the Catholic Princes of Germany, as this King ſhould loſe all credit with them, whom yet he hoped to win to their better party. But in this point we ſilenced them by propounding this queſtion to them, Whether they would chuſe rather to incur the unjuſt offence of uncertain friends, or the juſt offence of him that was likely to be the beſt friend they had in the world? And then the difficulty of the diſpenſation we removed, by complying with them thus far, that the public treaty ſhould be ſuſpended till that was obtained, provided that, for the preſent, they would procure a promiſe under this King's hand and their own, that when that danger ſhould be once avoided, they would give his Majeſty that full ſatisfaction which is now required, and in the *interim* would actually perform, on their part, towards Mansfeld's expedition, as much as the King our Maſter

ſhould do on his. Their anſwer was, That they could not condeſcend to any thing in writing; but if the King's faith and promiſe would ſerve the turn, that ſhould be renewed to us here, and to his Majeſty likewiſe by their Ambaſſador in England, in as full and ample manner as we could deſire it. We told them, that Princes were wont to build great deſigns, ſuch as were thoſe of peace and war, upon ſurer foundations than bare words. And why, quoth Count Schomberg, ſhould you call into doubt the King's word, eſpecially in a matter wherein his honour and intereſt are as far engaged as thoſe of the King your Maſter's? You do not hear us, anſwered we, call the King's word in queſtion; but if he be ſo far intereſted as you pretend, give us leave to find it ſo much the more ſtrange, that he makes ſuch great difficulties, to oblige himſelf to them by writing. The final concluſion of this conference was, that they would conſult the King's further pleaſure herein, and let us know a full reſolution the day following. But then likewiſe we received a flat negative to either of our demands; neither availed it ought to allege unto them the King's own promiſe *totidem verbis* to the contrary, no more than it did to reſound in their ears the reaſon and equity of our motion otherways; beſides the good grace wherewith he might eternally oblige the King our Maſter, in an occaſion that tended equally to his own honour and profit, and which being loſt, there was no appearance of ever meeting with the like to endear his cordial affection to him. To all which they had nothing to reply but to inculcate their former offers of the King's verbal aſſurance ſtill, and to make a buckler of their forwardneſs in Mansfeld's buſineſs, to whom they had not only advanced their own monies, but that which the State of Venice was quoted to likewiſe, ſo to remove the inconvenience that might happen in the levies of his troops through their ſlackneſs. They had no will to tell us the reaſon that the Venetian Ambaſſador plainly delivered to them, of this their ſlow pace in a matter of ſo high importance; which therefore we refreſhed their memory with, by tell-

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ing them, how that ſtate had, theſe ſix or ſeven years together, offered ſuch ſecurity, and been ſo plain in all their proceedings, as they muſt not think ſtrange if now they kept centinel to deſcry thoroughly into thoſe myſtical ways of theirs, that ſo they be not anew decoyed. The Cardinal's anſwer was, how they were not to become reſponſible for their predeceſſors faults; that the world ſhould ſee them walk another and more conſtant courſe; and, to purſue to a concluſion his argument which we had interrupted, told us, that ſixteen hundred horſe were ready to march, and ſo were the companies of foot likewiſe, which the ſaid Mansfeld was to receive from thence. But is this all the anſwer, quoth we, which we are like to receive from the propoſitions we make you? We have no other to return, ſaid they. Why then, quoth we, let us give you an expedient of compounding all this difference; give us the *eſcrit ſecret*, which we deſire; and to let you ſee what little inconvenience the King your Maſter ſhall incur thereby, we will oblige ourſelves, upon our honours, nay upon our ſalvations, to procure that care in your concealing it, as (the contents thereof being obſerved by this King) it ſhall never paſs the knowledge of his Majeſty, his Highneſs, the Duke of Buckingham, and our Secretary of State. But when we found this notice likewiſe rejected, upon no other pretenſions than this, that it was extremely unſeaſonable at this preſent time to hazard the offence of the Pope under the truſt of other men's ſecrets; we then thus parted with them; "Well, ſince we can obtain no better reaſon from you, "this we will do, we will truly and plainly repreſent unto the King "our Maſter, our propoſitions and your anſwers, with all the cir- "cumſtances on either part, and when we have ſhewed how ſtiff you "continue in theſe your own ways, we will endeavour the beſt we "can, that this may be no bar to that part of our felicity which con- "ſiſts in enjoying that incomparable Lady, Madame; but with this "*Item* by the way, which, for deeper impreſſion ſake, we twice re- "peated, that we knew not whether, when the King our Maſter

"ſhould

" ſhould hear of this their proceedings, he might not open his ear to " new councils, and embrace ſuch offers as might come to him from " other parts, and leave them perhaps to ſeek place for repentance when " it would be too late." And with this we, ſomewhat abruptly, took our leaves, and immediately, with the countenance of diſcontented perſons, went to Paris, as conceiving this the beſt way left, to bring them unto reaſon; and here we expect ſome better reſolutions from them, or a new commandment from his Majeſty (if ſo he can content himſelf with verbal aſſurances), before we dare adventure to ſign the articles. But this we are perſuaded, that the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal are ſo paſſionately affected to the Match, as they will leave nothing untried to work the King to whatſoever is poſſible, rather than the buſineſs ſhould thus miſcarry in the very haven.

To their care likewiſe, we aſcribe the quick diſpatch of the Pere Hyacynth, who returned towards Baviere ſome three or four days ſince, very badly edified in the buſineſs he came about. The Secretary des Embaſſadeurs, who conducted him to his coach, took his farewel of him by this pretty compliment, " Je prie dieu (mon Pere), qu'il vous " conduiſe bien en votre pays, et que je ne vous voye jamais plus ſi " ce n'eſt en paradis, dont il nous faſſe jour touts deux; mais que " ce ſoit le pluſtoſt pour vous, et le plus tard pour moy, que faire ſe " pourra."

But though he and his companion be gone, yet there are two beſides, that will (howſoever without that viſor of holineſs) carefully act their part, viz. the two agents of the Emperor and the Duke of Baviere. The former whereof ſought audience, the very day following our laſt conference, but with liberty to be covered before the King, as a thing due to the greatneſs of his Maſter; who therefore had his pacquet accordingly, that unleſs he would come with cap in hand, he might keep himſelf fairly where he was.

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From Mr. Lorkin to the Lords Carliſle and Holland.

October 11th, 1624.

Octob. 11th. Right Honourable and my moſt ſingular good Lords,

THOUGH I can hardly command my eyes to direct my hand (ſo ready are they to cloſe, upon every line that drops from my pen), yet have I forced this obedience from them to give your Lordſhips a brief account of my journey hither, my ſafe arrival here, and the index I find of the criſis of the buſineſs.

Upon Saturday, in the evening, I arrived at Boulogne in good hour (as your Lordſhips will have underſtood from Mr. Carre), and would, the ſame night, have continued my journey to the gates of Calais, but that the wind turning fair invited me to embark there; which, after ſome five or ſix hours refreſhing myſelf, in expectance of the tide, I did, and put forth to ſea, where we had not advanced above two leagues, but, we were ſo becalmed, for nine or ten hours together, as there was no moving one way nor other. Againſt heaven it was a folly to be impatient, and yet I was almoſt ſo fooliſh. At length, by ſigns and becks to a fiſhing-boat, which we deſcried a great way off, I found means to put myſelf aſhore, and ſo took poſt to Calais, where finding the weather calm, and that little wind (that was ſtirring) turned quite contrary, I had no means to paſs unleſs I ventured myſelf to a ſhallop, which I did at ſun-ſet on Sunday evening, and arrived at Dover, half-ſtarved with cold, on Monday morning betwixt four and five of the clock, and entered into London juſt as the clock ſtruck three. Here I underſtood that his Majeſty was gone to Royſton, but that his Highneſs, my Lord Duke, and Mr. Secretary Conway were, or would be, all here the ſame evening. By four I waited upon Mr. Secretary, from whom one of the firſt queſtions was, Whether he expreſſed himſelf unto your Lordſhips clearly enough, yea or not? I was loth to make my mouth the firſt witneſs of his obſcurity,

rity, and therefore declining the direct anſwer, reſtrained myſelf to his laſt letter, and told him, that it put your Lordſhips to ſome ſtand, to ſee his Majeſty come fully home to the French King's demands for the Match, and yet reſtrain the ſigning of the articles to a condition, of firſt procuring others for the league, or at leaſt an act in writing. Whereunto he preſently replied, that he then obeyed his Majeſty's commandment, who had no intention that one ſhould be done without the other, and both his Majeſty and his Highneſs, and my Lord Duke, had had the peruſal over thoſe letters more than once. And added, that your Lordſhips had already favoured that King beyond your commiſſion, which enjoined you firſt to treat of the league and then of the alliance, or at leaſt to make things go hand in hand together. But reſumed again his firſt queſtion, Whether his diſpatches were at any time intricate? Whereunto, finding myſelf preſſed either to ſpeak truth, or lie, I thus helped to diſguiſe the former to him; that ſometimes he ſo cautiouſly and prudently involved his meaning, in a cloſe and covered ſtile, as forced your Lordſhips to aſſemble your wits together to pick it out. By his truth he ſwore there was no ſuch prudent conſideration in it, but if there were any darkneſs, it was unwitting, and contrary to his deſire, which was to give the perfect light, and that he reſerved copies of all, which I ſhould ſee, that I might inſtance in ſome particulars, that ſo he might know the better how to mend the fault hereafter. This ſtruck me dumb, and gave him leiſure to read over the diſpatch; wherein he often interrupted himſelf by ſuddenly uttering forth theſe words, "Before God, I fear all is ſpoiled, and that we ſhall ſuddenly "break upon this difference." I deſired his Honour to have the patience to finiſh it, which he did, not without ſome other ſuch-like repetitions; and in the end of all, confirmed to me his aforeſaid fears, that we were like to come to a ſudden rupture; and that, within this month, Gondemar would be here with new offers, powerful enough, in the Spaniſh party's conceit, to prevail. Here I delivered him

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him your Lordſhip's letters of credence, which prepared his ear to liſten to the relation of the offers, which, by Mr. Gourden's means, without nominating the perſon, were conveyed to you; and theſe I commended by all thoſe motives and reaſons which your Lordſhips furniſhed me with, or my own underſtanding could ſuggeſt to me. But the ſame voices of deſpair ſounded ſtill unto me, that all this would not ſerve the turn, nor deliver his Majeſty from juſt apprehenſions, that this Match ſo offered (not only with a ſimple refuſal of a league, but a flying back from their own word and promiſe) was rather out of a deſign to ruin him, than to ſtrengthen him; and that it was an ordinary practice amongſt many great Princes, to think their daughters or ſiſters well beſtowed, if they might thereby be able to compaſs their own ends. He here aſked me, whether I had letters for his Highneſs and my Lord Duke? I anſwered yes. He further enquired of me, whether I brought not a double of this diſpatch to them? but yet I had brought the foul copy with me, becauſe if the King and Prince ſhould be at different places, your Lordſhips were deſirous I ſhould make lecture thereof to his Highneſs likewiſe; the rather, that if any occaſion of queſtion might ariſe upon any particular, I might be able to reſolve it. He thereupon replied, that he would go preſently and perform that himſelf, and would call upon the Duke, that, if his Grace thought fit, he would make the lecture to both together, and that I might be preſent to deliver to either my letters likewiſe. I feared to offend, if I had, by any different motion gone croſs to this demand, and therefore I obeyed, and had the honour to go along with him in his own coach. But the diſpatch was firſt read to them in private; and I only admitted afterwards to deliver my letters, which was after long attendance, to me eſpecially, that had not taſted one morſel of meat ſince I came from Bologne. Theſe being delivered, I returned to ſcribble this account, and intend to-morrow, to ſee whether I may have acceſs to acquit myſelf more particularly of your Lordſhips commands to both; and ſtrive (as in this)

this, ſo on all other occaſion, to let your Honours ſee, that I have no greater ambition than to be approved JAMES I. 1624.

Your Lordſhips, &c. &c.

From the Same to the Same.

Oct. 21ſt, 1624.

Right Honourable and my moſt ſingular good Lords,

MY former letter contains a true relation of all that paſſed between Mr. Secretary Conway and me; I reſerved that which followed upon my admittance into the Prince and Duke, for another letter a-part, that if your Lordſhips thought fit to ſhew the other to any, they might therein read no other characters but thoſe of deſpair. Being therefore admitted into their preſence, his Highneſs commanded me to deliver what your Lordſhips had been pleaſed to commend to me in truſt, which I did ſo fully and effectually, as the Duke interrupting me, told the Prince, that this was much better than that which Fiatt had told him, and his Highneſs confirmed it by an affirmative. After I had ended all, I added, that if his Majeſty pleaſed to condeſcend to thoſe conditions (in caſe he ſhould find an impoſſibility of getting better), your Lordſhips would be then ſo much the bolder, to preſs all things home to their utmoſt extremity, as having a preſent remedy at hand to ſolder up that breach which eagerneſs of diſpute might otherwiſe occaſion. His Highneſs and my Lord Duke (both) applauded the courſe, if ſo be his Majeſty ſhould like of it; and agreed (on Wedneſday) to go expreſsly to Roiſton, to communicate theſe things with them, and to know his pleaſure therein. I have craved leave to interpoſe this caution, that, if his Majeſty conſented to the motion, yet that a quite contrary countenance might be put on, and the Marquis de Fiatt October 21.

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carefully entertained in deſpair, becauſe otherwiſe your Lordſhips' endeavours would be quite fruſtrate: and beſides, it would have a far better grace, that the ſweetneſs of the concluſion might flow directly from his Majeſty, by his own inſtruments (your Lordſhips) than by a ſtranger, who, perhaps, might draw the greateſt honour and thanks thereof unto himſelf, as having extorted it by the induſtry of his own wit. This his Highneſs and my Lord Duke preſently aſſented to, and promiſed me carefully and punctually to obſerve, but with *an if ſtill*, if it might once be brought to the point.

I cannot deduce things more particularly; for the meſſenger parts early in the morning, and I am now too much oppreſſed with ſleep.

Copy of the Secret Eſcrit preſented by the French Ambaſſadors, and avowed to be the ſame agreed on between them and his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors in France.

18th November, 1624.

Nov. 18. LE Roy de la Grande Bretaigne donnera au Roy un eſcrit particulier ſigné de luy, du Sereniſſime Prince ſon fils, & d'un Secretaire d'Eſtat; par lequel il promettra, en foy & parole de Roy, Qu'en contemplation de ſon tres cher fils, & de Madame Sœur du Roy tres Chreſtien, qu'il permettra à tous ſes ſubjects Catholiques Romains de jouir de plus de liberté & franchiſe, en ce qui regarde leur religion, qu'il n'euſſent fait en vertu d'articles quelconques accordès par le traité de mariage fait avec l'Eſpagne: ne voulant, pour cet effect, que ſes ſubjects Catholiques puiſſent eſtre inquietés en leurs perſonnes & biens pour faire profeſſion de la dite religion & vivre en Catholiques, pourveu toutesfois qu'ils en uſent modeſte-

ment,

ment, & rendent l'obeiſance que de bons & vrays ſubjects doivent à leur Roy, qui par ſa bonté ne les reſtreindra pas à aucun ſerment contraire à leur religion. JAMES I. 1624.

Ce que deſſus a eté accordé par Meſſieurs les Ambaſſadeurs du Roy de la Grande Bretaigne ce 18 Novembre 1624, à Paris.

Ainſi ſigné CARLILE,
HOLAND.

Collat. par moi,
DE LOMENIE.

From Secretary Conway to Lords Carliſle and Holland.

Right Honourable, London, 23d Dec. 1624.

I MUST now acknowledge the receipt of two of your letters, the one of the 5th, the other of the 17th of December. I ſee now, that, before I received your Lordſhips of the 5th, you had received mine in anſwer to thoſe brought by the noble gentleman Sir James Auchterlony. Dec. 23.

On the 12th of this preſent at Cambridge, the ratification of the treaty, agreed on and ſigned by your Lordſhips, was ſigned by his Majeſty; and, at the ſame time, the *eſcrit ſecret*, and the confirmation of the 9th article, were likewiſe executed and ſigned by his Majeſty and the Prince ſeverally. The ratification of the treaty is ſince exemplified under the Great Seal. And, in the demands concerning the Roman Catholics, the French Ambaſſadors have received full ſatisfaction; only ſome legal formalities are to be done, which Monſieur de Ville aux Clercs deſires to ſee before he goes, and for that puts off his journey till Monday. The greateſt difficulty hath been concerning the paſſage of Mansfelt's troops, and the reſtraint given by his Majeſty to Count Mansfelt, not to attempt any act of hoſtility

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upon any the lawful dominions or poſſeſſions of the King of Spain or the Archduchеſs. The Ambaſſadors here have uſed the ſame arguments at Cambridge, we now receive from you. Whereupon his Majeſty was pleaſed to make a declaration, grounded upon the words of the Ambaſſadors, in which, after ſome former declaration, his Majeſty concluded with the qualifying of his reſtraint; indeed taking it away, by permitting them to ſecond their companions, or ſecure themſelves, if they were aſſaulted, and ſo make their way by arms, if paſſage be denied them. The copies of theſe things were prepared to be ſent to you, but being not accepted by Monſ. de Ville aux Clercs, till they ſhall be otherwiſe altered, I forbear that, till they be agreed on; and I have held up this account, from the 13th to this day, in expectation to have had leave conſented to, for a few days return for you the moſt noble Earl of Carliſle. But until yeſterday, I had no certain reſolution, and then I received ſignification of his Majeſty's pleaſure, that, the diſpenſation being accorded according to the information of Monſ. de Ville aux Clercs, who expreſsly went to court for that purpoſe, my Lord Duke's journey would be ſo ſudden, and the time every way ſo ſhort, as that his Majeſty could not permit your return, for which I am ſorry, being deferred from the hope of kiſſing your hands; a great honour and contentment taken from me.

Every meſſenger that comes from Dover will tell you, that the troops march to the rendezvous daily. The reſt of the circumſtances belonging to this, and whatever elſe my affection and my duties might think proper to deliver to you, as well as the magnificent feaſt the Duke gave yeſternight to the Ambaſſadors, defer to the next opportunity; to which yet I muſt not leave this commandment of his Majeſty's, to ſignify his pleaſure to your Lordſhips, that you put yourſelves out of your defraying at the charge of that King; nor can I conclude this without the acknowledgment of my infinite

obligations to your Lordſhips favours, and the preſentation of my duties and ſervice, in which I remain JAMES I. 1624.

Your Lordſhips, &c.

From Lords Carliſle and Holland to Secretary Conway.

Right Honourable,

WE have forborn to trouble you with the ſeveral bruits which have run here of the commotions of thoſe of the religion, till we ſhould ſee what certain form they would take, yet we have not been wanting upon every occaſion to entreat this King, the Queen-mother, and the Miniſters, not to give too eaſy credit thereto to the prejudice of the good reſolutions now in hand. But we do now underſtand, from certain aſſurance, that Monſieur De Soubize, with ſome companies of thoſe of the religion, hath ſeized upon the Iſland of Rhé, near Rochelle, hath left 500 men there with arms, to fortify and defend it, and is himſelf gone with five ſhips on ſome expedition, which is not yet diſcovered. We are extremely ſorry that we muſt believe that Monſieur De Soubize hath ſo unadviſedly and unſeaſonably engaged himſelf in this deſperate action; but we are aſſured, that the body of thoſe of the religion do not participate therein; but that it is only ſome private diſcontented gentlemen, who, pretending a deſire and neceſſity to procure a better obſervation of the public faith, and the edicts (which they generally complain are too often violated), have animated Monſieur De Soubize to undertake the reformation, hoping withal to repair their own neceſſitous fortunes thereby. The laſt night, having attended the King at a comedie, upon the riſing of the company, he came unto us of himſelf, and in a free and chearful manner entreated us to aſſure the King our maſter from him, that theſe inſolences of thoſe

of

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of the religion ſhould alter nothing in the reſolutions he had taken for the public good, nor in the particular promiſes he had made unto his Majeſty. Whereupon we rendered unto him ſpecial thanks, for ſo frank a declaration of the conſtancy of his good affections; and we beſought him, that though ſome indiſcreet gentleman had incurred his diſpleaſure, yet that he would ſtill be pleaſed, for the intereſt of the commonweal of Chriſtendom, to temper his chaſtiſement with clemency, and not drive the body of thoſe of the religion, by a rigorous proceeding, to the extremity of a general deſpair; which he promiſed to do. We have this day, upon this occaſion, ſpoken with the miniſters of the State, who have confirmed the ſame aſſurance which we received from this King; and more particularly, by the mouth of the Cardinal de Richlieu, they did inform us, that it was true they had taken orders for the preſent arming of the ſhips for the recovery of the Iſland of Rhé, as alſo for the raiſing of three little armies, whereof one, conſiſting of 6000 foot and 400 horſe, ſhould remain in Poictou, and thoſe parts about Rochelle; another of 8000 foot and 500 horſe, ſhould be raiſed in Languedoc; and a third of 6000 and 400 horſe, about the confines of Champagne; the two firſt to repreſs any further tumults or combinations in thoſe provinces, the latter to make head againſt any incurſions of Calalto's or Tilly's troops, if they ſhould attempt it. Yet that, nevertheleſs, they had newly, by an expreſs courier, renewed the order to the Conſtable for the haſtening of his paſſage over the mountains; and that they had more money ready for Mansfelt than they had promiſed; and renewed their former inſtance, and adviſe, that Mansfelt ſhould make his paſſage by the way of Berghen, and not by France; in reſpect of the hazard he ſhould run of endangering the main enterprize, encountering, at his very entrance, a puiſſant army of Calalto's and Tilly's troops, with the forces of the country, which they ſay were joined upon the confines to withſtand his proceedings. We oppoſed to this reaſon the ſtrength of Mansfelt's army,

army, the known courage and abilities of the General, and eſpecially the impoſſibility of tranſporting their 2000 horſe by ſea. Whereunto they made anſwer, that they had underſtood from Mansfelt, that he would have taken order for it. We are aſſured by the Ambaſſador of Savoy, that he is not only ready, in his Maſter's name, to give aſſurance for the payment of his portion of money for the entertainment of Mansfelt's troops; but that the Venetian Ambaſſador hath alſo newly received order from that Seignory to give ſatisfaction for their proportion; ſo, as they pretend, there now remaineth no other difficulty but the reſolution of the paſſage. We promiſed the Miniſters to make a true narration of their allegations, which we have faithfully done; but as, at our conference, we held them ſtrictly to the firſt agreement for the paſſage by France; ſo we have altered nothing in that behalf, for the reaſons particularly alledged in our former letters; and for that we ſuppoſe, this new deſire of theirs here proceedeth rather from the intereſt of their own affairs, than from any new extraordinary affection to the buſineſs; conceiving that the reſolution will be beſt guided by his Majeſty's incomparable wiſdom, with the opinion of the General. JAMES I. 1624.

From Lord Carliſle to the Duke of Buckingham.

My moſt noble dear Lord, Paris, 16th Feb. 1624-5.

IN the care and ſtudy which I have to maintain that friendſhip inviolable, which I have profeſſed to your Lordſhip, I cannot obſerve a more ſafe and faithful rule than to follow your Lordſhip's both precept and example, in uſing a cordial and ſincere liberty, which is the cement and ſoul of true friendſhip. I will, therefore, my moſt dear Lord, preſume, by my own hand, to communicate Feb. 16.

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municate my heart to your Lordſhip, and to your Lordſhip only, by remonſtrating unto you, that this unworthy people, neglecting the honour and reſpect which they owe to the greatneſs of our gracious Maſter, the obligation which they have to his Highneſs's tranſcendent merit, quality, and affection, and the gratitude which belongeth to your Lordſhip's noble favours, are grown ſo indiſcreetly and unreaſonably preſumptuous, as to impoſe a new treaty upon us, after a perfect treaty concluded, ſigned, and ſworn by his Majeſty, wherein, by the Pope's borrowed name, they would exact not only all the diſhonourable and prejudicial circumſtances which, with much labour and conteſtation, we had avoided or rejected in the whole courſe of our former conferences and treatings; but would inforce no leſs than a direct and public toleration, not by connivance, promiſe, or *eſcrit ſecret*, but by a public notification to all the Roman Catholics, and that of all his Majeſty's kingdoms whatſoever, confirmed by his Majeſty and the Prince his oath, and atteſted by a public act, whereof a copy to be delivered to the Pope or his Miniſter, and the ſame to bind his Majeſty and the Prince's ſucceſſors for ever. This holdeth proportion, I muſt confeſs, with the whole courſe of their former proceedings. For firſt, in the point of aſſiſtance, which we required for the reſtoring of his Majeſty's children to their ancient patrimony and dignities, they would not enter into any formal aſſociation, but undertake that this King ſhould give us a promiſe, which ſhould become equivalent thereunto by their real performance; but when, upon the ſigning of the treaty of marriage, we came to receive it, we found them to be ſo imperfect, as for the ſaving of his Majeſty's honour, we rather choſe to have none; and now, when it cometh to the performance, we underſtand they are fallen ſhort, by the one half, of the aſſiſtance of cavalry promiſed to the Count Mansfelt; and it is notorious to all the world, how flatly and falſely they are fallen from the public faith, which they had given for the deſcent of Mansfelt's troops in France, and the paſſage to be made from

from hence, after they had diſcovered the advantage which we had gained upon them in that point. JAMES I. 1624-5.

Touching the treaty of marriage, after his Majeſty had admitted of their full demand of the temporal articles, they inſiſted that, after the example of the treaty with Spain, ſomething muſt be granted in favour of our Catholics, for the facilitating of the diſpenſation, which they then pretended ſhould only be ſhewed to the Pope, and afterwards withdrawn, and whereof the execution ſhould ſtill remain in our power, and that they required it only for form ſake and their own juſtification; which, when we had agreed with the Marquis de la Vieuxville, ſhould paſs only by way of letter from his Majeſty to this King, Vieuxville was diſgraced, and diſavowed; and when afterwards the *eſcrit ſecret* was admitted, and framed upon the expence of much time and conſultation both here and in England, the infamous word Liberty, was, by the falſe ſuggeſtions and artifice of Ville-aux-Clercs foiſted in (which I beſeech your Lordſhip we may have commandment to cauſe to be altered, as a thing which was ſurreptitiouſly gotten without our thought or conſent), and now laſt of all, by pretence of the Pope's authority, they would impoſe upon us real alterations, and new additions, extravagant in themſelves, and incompatible with his Majeſty's honour, and the peace of his kingdom. Do but remember, my moſt noble dear Lord, how much your noble and generous proceedings in Spain did endear you to the loves and hearts of his Majeſty's people, all which you will loſe (I beſeech your Lordſhip to pardon my liberty, proceeding from a faſt and ſincere friendſhip) if you give way in this; the world will now conclude it was nothing but a particular paſſion, and animoſity, and not care of the public, which excited you thereunto. Nothing can more juſtify and advantage Digby, than the admiſſion of the laſt of theſe new conditions, which carry with them more prejudice and diſhonour than the conditions of the Spaniſh Treaty, which might ſeem, out of neceſ-

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ſity, to be extorted, the Prince's precious perſon being in their hands; but now there being no ſuch neceſſity, the envy will be wholly caſt upon the negociators. I beſeech your Lordſhip to give your humble faithful ſervant, who hath made a league offenſive and defenſive with your frienſhip, leave to aſſure you, that you will find little faith or faſt friendſhip in any but the true Britiſh hearts; much leſs in theſe inconſtant and perfidious monſters, who will make little ſcruple to ruin their beſt friends, ſo as they may not fail to compaſs their ends. Shall I give your Lordſhip a demonſtration thereof? But I muſt firſt conjure your Lordſhip, by all that is holy and inviolable, to keep it moſt ſecret; for I have it from a dear friend, who was the firſt perſon in the whole world acquainted with it, whom I had rather loſe my life than ruin, and that cannot be avoided if this ſecret be diſcovered. I have only imparted it to my dear colleague, from whom I conceal nothing; and now am going to tell your Lordſhip, that upon the late news which was brought hither of the death of the King of Spain, there was a project framed, that Madame, for whom we have been ſo long in ſuit, ſhould be given in marriage to Don Carlos (they having offended the State of Spain, not daring to ſtrike, and unwilling enough to reaſſure them), and that they would endeavour to content his Highneſs with the Queen of Spain, as being their daughter, and ſomewhat more ſuitable to his years. But I fear to abuſe your Lordſhip's patience too much. The concluſion of all is this, that, by a round ſharp negative, you will ſhew your reſentment of the indignity which is offered, by theſe new extravagant demands, to his Majeſty, and the ſweet Prince's honour, to the honour of England, and to your Lordſhip's favour and friendſhip; whoſe honour and fortune they would make little difficulty to ſacrifice to the obtaining of their own ends and deſires. But, my dear Lord, you muſt then reject the whole, elſe you will ſuffer their preſumption to encroach too far upon the honour

of

of our great Maſter, and will give more courage to their inſatiable appetite, and this, I dare maintain, is not the way to break, but to facilitate and ſecure the marriage; the preſent conſtitution of their affairs, both at home and abroad, being ſuch, as they will not care to offend his Majeſty, if they ſhould diſcover his reſolution. Quarrel with the Marquis D'Effiat; not with his perſon, for that is worthy of all favour and eſteem; but quarrel with his charge, with his commiſſion, and with his Miniſters arts; who when they find 'tis inflexible, ſet him a-work. If any thing be granted him, that they ſtop our mouths withal; if he promiſe any thing, that they diſavow, as having no commiſſion to treat; whereof we have found the experience three or four times. In other paſſages, heretofore, I have had much patience for your Lordſhip's ſake; but now that I find, that, without any ſenſe either of honour or gratitude, they care not how they wound their beſt friends, I can endure it no longer, for your Lordſhip ſhall ever find, that *contra gentes*, I am ever conſtant

Your Grace's, &c. &c.

From Mr. Thomas Lorkin to the Lords Carliſle, &c.

London, February 12th, 1624-5.

Right Honourable and my ſingular good Lords,

I HAD diſpatched away this account, two or three days ſooner, but that I was partly in expectation of ſome further order from Court; and partly in hope of preventing the ſpeed of any other by mine own diligence. But as the former is like to be fruſtrate, by the order La Riviere pretends to have received of delivering his Majeſty's letters to the French King himſelf, which, together with the copy

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incloſed, being put into my hands by Mr. Secretary Conway late laſt night, comes now demanded by him this morning in Mr. Secretary's name, though I refuſe to give it, till I receive an expreſs commandment from his Honour's own mouth; ſo in the latter I find myſelf deceived by being caſt into ſuch an intricate labyrinth about your Lordſhip's ſupply, as I can ſee no ſudden iſſue out. For though his Majeſty hath, upon my Lord of Buckingham's recommendation, carefully ſollicited by Mr. Secretary, been pleaſed to grant a warrant for 12000 *l.* which the Lord Treaſurer ſeconded by another to the Attorney; and he made his draught for the Signet and Privy Seal; yet this ſtops a little at the King's ſignature; and I find, beſides, the Exchequer ſo empty, and the difficulties of getting money ſo great, as (notwithſtanding all the fair language my Lord Treaſurer gives me, and that cordial I think, and ſuch as deſerves your Lordſhip's thankful acknowledgments) I fear ſomewhat the expedition. Yet, to redeem by Providence as much time as may be, I am buſy in the *interim* with the merchants to ſtipulate for the return, which requires a new care; ſince (as the exchange goeth), and eſpecially for the quick remitting ſo great a ſum, I apprehend much loſs.

This being promiſed by way of excuſe, I leave your Lordſhip's particular, and come unto the public. Wherein, firſt, for Mansfeld's buſineſs, you may pleaſe to underſtand, how his Majeſty was content with a very ſhort account, becauſe it was fully determined before I came; ſo that all that remains for your Lordſhip to do in this point is, as far as I can learn from his Grace, to preſs, what is poſſible, the haſtening away of the cavalry to join with the infantry; ſince, till it be, how well ſoever the family ſhall be compoſed and their diſpenſation cleared, which will be your Lordſhip's ſecond taſk, the noble Duke intends not to ſtir from hence.

For the word Liberty (in the *Eſcrit particulier*), his Majeſty is pleaſed to leave that to your Lordſhip's diſcretion, and will think it a good

good piece of ſervice, if you can obtain that it be razed out. Yet would not, by any means, that it ſhould be preſſed, to cauſe any ill blood, or bad correſpondence betwixt the two Crowns; for that were to deſtroy one part of his deſign, which aims, not only at the marriage, but an amity. And this will do well to be cheriſhed by a friendly cloſure of the buſineſs, ſo to ſweeten a little any harſhneſs that may have paſſed in the precedent negociation. And to this reſolution his Majeſty is rather ſwayed, by the judgment he makes of the value of the word, which being merely relative to what was meant in contemplation of the treaty with Spain, carries with it a great deal more ſhow than ſubſtance. It is, in effect, the charge I received from his Majeſty's own mouth to derive unto your Lordſhips. And to ſpeak truth, much cannot be expected from any thing that is concluded in that relative form, ſince your Lordſhips can remember, that the Commiſſioners pleaded for it by this argument, that they knew not how little they obtained thereby, the bounds being locked up in his Majeſty's own breaſt, and deſired it rather as a colour to content the Pope, than for any great tye they thereby pretended to faſten upon the King.

The ſpeedy accompliſhment of Monſieur D'Effiatt's buſineſs will give great contentment, and is eſpecially recommended by his Grace to your Lordſhip's care. I think there cannot be a more powerful argument to enforce it, than from that tranſcendent expreſſion of kindneſs which his Majeſty's letter imports, to perſuade to a reciprocal demonſtration of affection; and that, as in other more eſſential points, ſo in this, of ſending the ribbon to his Majeſty, that he may gratify the Ambaſſador therewith.

There yet remains one commiſſion, which I am to deliver from my Lord Duke, to both your Lordſhips jointly; and that is, in his name to deſire you to quicken (as far as cleanly and handſomely you may) the performance of a purpoſe, which he is informed, that King (and

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either Queen-Mother or the Cardinal) hath, of preſenting his Grace with pictures, which will be much more welcome if they come before his journey, than if they follow after.

I ſhall add only this for news, that Sir Albertus Morton is now ſworn Secretary; that the Cardinal denies (in a letter to Monſieur D'Effiatt) what your Lordſhips advertiſed about the conſultation and reſolution, touching the Prince's reception (in caſe his Highneſs ſhould paſs over into France), and deſires to know the author of that impoſture; that is his term. What further paſſed betwixt the Ambaſſador and me upon this ſubject, I ſhall reſerve till I have the honour to attend your Lordſhips, when I ſhall acquit myſelf of a great many other particular commands to either. In the *interim*, I moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to confirm me ſtill in your favourable good opinion, and to honour me with the quality, whereby I pretend to value myſelf moſt, of being

Your Lordſhips, &c. &c.

P. S. I had almoſt forgot, to let your Lordſhips know, how infinitely ſatisfied his Majeſty and Highneſs were with Madame's kind reception of the preſent, and the demonſtrations of her affection upon that occaſion. I come now from Mr. Secretary, with whom, pleading againſt the delivery of the letter to La Riviere, he ſilenced me by ſhewing me a commandment under the Duke's own hand, won thereto (as it is like) by the ſuit of the Ambaſſador, that thereby he might the better facilitate his own affair. From Denmark there came news yeſternight as good as his Majeſty's own heart can wiſh, the particulars I cannot learn. I may not omit one thing which both my Lord Duke and Mr. Secretary ſeriouſly recommended, that in any future negociations with the Miniſters, your Lordſhips truſt not to words only, but procure it under their hands in writing.

From Secretary Conway to Lord Carliſle.

Right Honourable, Cheſterford, Feb. 24th, 1624.

I PUT your Lordſhips diſpatch of the 19th of this inſtant into his Majeſty's hands this day, which he graciouſly read, and then commanded me to give your Lordſhip for anſwer, that, by a diſpatch made yeſterday to you, which will be with you before this can come to your hands, your Lordſhips will ſee the reſolution his Majeſty hath taken, following your wiſe advices, and the reaſon of the cauſe as it was laid before him. And that very diſpatch itſelf will likewiſe be with you almoſt as ſoon as this; it being held up for the cauſe, and ſhort time in that diſpatch expreſſed; ſo as his Majeſty cannot ſee how he may grant the propoſitions you make for the Lord Carliſle's leave of coming hither, without giving a great delay to the great buſineſs in hand, and offering ſubject of much jealouſy to that King and his Miniſters; the rather for the ſhadows taken at you the Lord Carliſle's perſon already. Neither doth his Majeſty think it ſeaſonable, in this conjuncture of affairs, to ſeem to ſurprize or affright them: nor can his Majeſty ſee how this coming away of you my Lord Carliſle can be ſuitable with the ſtile practiſed by Ambaſſadors in the ancient and modern times (except in like caſe as my Lord Holland's coming by conſent of that King, and for the uſe and advantage of that King's ſervice from whom he came). But if the advantage lie only for the ſervice of his Majeſty, his Majeſty conceives that you Lord Carliſle are not unfurniſhed with Gentlemen of worth to whom you may truſt the relations of things of great conſequence. And if the ſecrets might be ſuch as a knowledge of a third from you two, could not be choſen to bring it to his Majeſty, your Lordſhips might at leaſt by that confident perſon write that greateſt ſecret. And now

all

JAMES I. 1624-5.

all this is laid before your Lordſhips, his Majeſty, not to deny to your wiſdoms, nor to the truſt, experience, and approved faithfulneſs and judgment, he hath ever found in you, and particularly in my Lord of Carliſle, the latitude which is fit for a King to leave to his truſty Ambaſſadors, his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed that you the Earl of Carliſle may come according to your deſire, if upon this debate with you by this preſent diſpatch, you the Earl of Carliſle ſhall be pleaſed to find it good, for the ſervice of his Majeſty, and advancement of the buſineſs, to come; provided you make that King acquainted with it, and that he give a conſent to it as for his ſervice, at leaſt that it give him no offence, and that you warrant yourſelf by the cauſes known to you, through all theſe difficulties which appear to his Majeſty. Notwithſtanding all which he will not prejudge of you, but that you may know ſomething, that may juſtly move and authorize your deſire to come, and your coming. But for the propoſitions of Denmark, come to you by way of Sir Robert Anſtruther; notwithſtanding ſome things to that point already ſent you, his Majeſty hath commanded me to advertiſe your Lordſhips, that the King of Denmark was not come ſo far as a declaration, by the induſtry and ſolicitations of the Marquis of Brandenbourg; but that ſince, in contemplation of his Majeſty, he hath come to the propoſitions herewith ſent you, upon which his Majeſty (upon good grounds) hath made diſpatch to the King of Denmark, agreeing to the King of Denmark's propoſitions, and hath turned the negociation of Sir Robert Anſtruther, and Sir James Spens, his Majeſty's Miniſters in thoſe parts, to accommodate all jealouſies between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and form the army under the conduct of the King of Denmark, or to loſe no aid to deſire from them their ſeveral aſſiſtances by ſeveral ways, upon knowledge given, and direction from his Majeſty, which way they ſhall take.

His Majeſty likes well the hope that is given of the places that will be taken in Milan within ſix days. But (I conceive) will be

be bettter pleaſed when he ſhall hear that they took them ſix days ago. JAMES I. 1624-5.

I muſt obſerve my duty to make this a ſudden diſpatch; and I ſhall ſpeed it the better to let your Lordſhips know, that his Majeſty hears you willingly, eſteems you much, and truſts you accordingly; and like a great King to worthy Miniſters, is unwilling to refuſe you any thing. When your Lordſhip ſtands thuswith the greateſt King, and my bleſſed Maſter, what can I offer you, but praiſes and prayers for you, and the affection, faith, and duty of

Your Lordſhip's, &c. &c.

The Duke of Buckingham to Lord Carliſle.

My Lord, Theobalds, March 15th, 1624.

I GIVE your Lordſhip many thanks for your letter, and for the advertiſements you give me therein, whereof I ſhall not be ſparing to make good uſe. And in the mean time, I deſire your Lordſhip ſtill to have your eyes open, and to ſtop any courſe, as much as you can, which may hinder the buſineſs of the Palatinate, and affairs of Germany, and of the religion, until I come; for which I cannot yet appoint a day, till I hear from your Lordſhip, that all is done touching the ſettling of Madame's houſe; and then I deſire you to ſend away Sir George Goring with all ſpeed; upon whoſe coming, I will reſolve on the time of taking my journey, and I purpoſe to come with ſuch ſtore of materials and propoſitions, as ſhall make them willing to hearken to me. In the mean time I reſt

Your Lordſhip's, &c. &c.

JAMES I.
1624-5.

From Secretary Conway to the Same.

Right Honourable, Theobalds, March 16th, 1624.

IN all things you are pleaſed to honour me more than I am worthy; and in your laſt diſpatch, you vouchſafe to lay a fault upon haſte, that you do not account the paſſage of ſeveral directions you have received from his Majeſty. And yet in the ſame you fulfil all that could be adviſed from hence, or hoped for there. And although it be not imagined, that you have been put to the trial of your uttermoſt powers; yet it is attributed to the ſtrength of your noble virtues, that none other could have done ſo much. And indeed the praiſe of your Lordſhip, the joy in the thing, and the ſurprize, in time and manner, had been inexpreſſible, but that all human things have ſomething of earth and defect. So this coming in the time of my gracious Maſter's ſickneſs, was ſubject to that allay of a careful accident, without abatement in itſelf, or any of the circumſtances.

It ſeems your Lordſhip did purpoſe to have ſent the original, which you require to have returned to you by the Duke's Grace; but you changed your council and ſent but a copy; which I remember to your Lordſhips for my diſcharge, when the Duke ſhall come, the copy you ſent, by faith, being as effectual as if you had ſent the original. And I muſt not conceal from your Lordſhips the chearfulneſs that ſhewed itſelf through the double ſadneſs of every face, firſt for the little hope they had for ſo entire a good ſucceſs, and then for the extreme grief that every one ſuffered for the ſharp and ſmart acceſſes of his Majeſty's fever, though a pure intermitting tertian, whereof this day early he had his ſeventh fit; but, thanks be to God, leſs intemperate than the reſt, and hath left more clearneſs and chearfulneſs in his looks than the former; and I know I ſhall join with your Lordſhips

ſhips in this prayer, that God, of his goodneſs to his Majeſty, and mercy to us and the reſt of his ſubjects, would reſtore him to his perfect health.

Your Lordſhips cannot but believe that, in the acceſs his Majeſty was in when your letters came, he could not expreſs what he would have done, if his ſtate of health had anſwered his affections; but he left not undeclared his contentment in the act you procured from that King, and his ſatisfaction in ſuch ſervants, as did not only happily do the thing, but did wiſely foreſee and foretel the way to do it, for which the praiſe and thanks is yours.

Give me leave to tell your Lordſhips, the excellent Prince, and the gracious Duke, could not hide their contentment in your Lordſhips, and in your works; and their own letters will tell you the reſt, from ſo certain knowledge, and with ſo much a better grace, as I would not detain you by any thing of mine from that content.

Here is now no ſpeech, but of the ſpeed of the Duke going, which I ſhall join with your Lordſhips in haſtening of, for the reaſons I have from you.

By this diſpatch I ſend to my noble friend, Sir George Goring, from whom I received the demands, the *reglement* of the moſt excellent Princeſs, her houſehold; and becauſe I know how communicable all things are between you, I will not importune your Lordſhips with repetitions; nor will I give leave to the extremity of my aſſertion to your ſervice, to breathe itſelf out in the large expreſſions it longs to manifeſt itſelf by, but, with due reſpect to your patience and greater affairs, conclude this, with this perfect truth, that I am

Your Lordſhips, &c. &c.

From the Same to the Same.

Right Honourable, Theobalds, March 24th, 1624.

YOUR Lordſhip will eaſily judge the perplexity the Prince, the principal perſons of this Court, and the affairs are in, when you ſhall underſtand the ſtate of his Majeſty's health, of which my particular letter to that purpoſe, will give your Lordſhips an account.

This is, by the commandment of the Prince his Highneſs, according to the mind of his Majeſty, to ſignify his pleaſure to you, that your Lordſhips let that King and his Miniſters know, that it cannot be ſuitable with the good nature of a ſon, in ſo dangerous a ſtate of his father's health, to entertain ſuch jollity and triumph, as duly belong to ſo acceptable a marriage; nor can it be congruous with the thankfulneſs, and faithful love of the Duke of Buckingham, to leave his Majeſty in ſuch a condition as he now is. Your Lordſhips muſt therefore be pleaſed to acquaint that King and his Miniſters with the ſad ſtate of his Majeſty's health, and withal that, amongſt the continual thoughts, that his Highneſs hath of that excellent Lady and that happy Match, he is not without an examination of that King's promiſe, and the exact terms in it. And although his Highneſs makes interpretation, that if, upon ſuch an extraordinary occaſion as this is, his proxy and powers ſhould not come thither by the preciſe time of the 31ſt day after the ſignature of that King's promiſe, that King would, upon the poſſible convenient coming of his powers, paſs, according to the conditions, to the ſolemnization of the marriage; yet, in a caſe which his Highneſs purſues with ſuch paſſion, he would not ſuffer any point of omiſſion to be on his part. And therefore, he prays and requires your Lordſhips to procure from that King, a categorical anſwer, how he underſtands and means to ſtand upon

that

that limitation of time of thirty-one days, and whether he intends any reaſonable time after the thirty-one days. For if that King ſhall bind his Highneſs preciſely to the 31ſt day, his Highneſs will reſolve to entreat the Duke de Chevreuſe, to perform the office for him, and ſend him his powers. So that the points your Lordſhips muſt clear are, to explain the thirty-one days, whether intended preciſely, or as not to be ſooner, but at any convenient time after; and where it is ſaid (when the Duke of Buckingham or ſome other ſhall be ſent from the King, and bring power from the Prince) whether, in this neceſſity, it will not be as acceptable, or at leaſt admitted, that a Duke there be intreated on the part of the Prince. For your Lordſhips may be pleaſed to be aſſured, that if God, according to our hope and prayers, ſhall reſtore our gracious Maſter to his health, the Duke will be with you with all poſſible ſpeed.

And this being the charge I have, your Lordſhips will ſee how needful it is you return a ſpeedy anſwer; and I ſee how fit it is for me to end your trouble, with the preſentation of my ſervice to your Lordſhips commandments, at which I remain, in all humble affection,

Your Lordſhips, &c. &c.

From the Same to the Same.

Theobalds, March 24th, 1624, late at night.

Right Honourable,

THAT your Lordſhips may know the cauſe we have of ſilent ſadneſs, and bear ſuch a part in it as your noble ſweet powers will contribute, I muſt deliver to you, that this laſt night was the tenth night of his Majeſty's fever, which exerciſed much violence upon

JAMES I. 1624-5.

upon a weak body, which being reverenced and loved with ſo much cauſe as his Majeſty hath given, ſtruck much ſenſe and fear into the hearts of his ſervants that looked upon him. Yet, to deliver to you the ſtate clearly, this day his Majeſty hath taken broths, hath had large benefit of nature, and hath ſlept well. And, more to your comfort, his Majeſty did, with life and chearfulneſs, receive the ſacrament in the preſence of the Prince, the Duke, and many others, and admitted many to take it with him; and in the action and the circumſtances of it, did deliver himſelf ſo anſwerable to his writings and his wiſe and pious profeſſions, and did juſtly produce mixt tears between comfort and grief; and this day, and now this night, he recovers temper, reſts, in appearance to us, ſtrength, appetite, and digeſtion; which gives us great hope of his amendment, grounded not only upon deſire, but upon the method of judicious obſervation.

To your ears and affection I know this diſcourſe is paſſionately acceptable, but to your hearts and tender love wounds and grief; and therefore I will enlarge this part of the ſtory no further; but will tell your Lordſhips that Mr. Lorkin is ſtaid a little by the Duke of Buckingham to aſſiſt in the preparation of the Prince's powers, that he may bring them unto you as clear as is poſſible, and upon any thing that hath been debated here, may furniſh your Lordſhips with the arguments, if the things be drawn ſo far, or that your wiſdoms may think fit to make uſe of them. This letter I had intended for your Lordſhips before I had order for that of the ſame date which comes with it. When God ſhall ſet open the windows of his mercy unto us, by reſtoring to our bleſſed Maſter his perfect health, I will then, with more chearfulneſs, and all ſpeed, give you that acceſs of joy, and withal continue the acknowledgment of my obligations, the offer of my humble ſervice, and the ſame ſuit I make now to be valued

Your Lordſhips, &c. &c.

From the Same to the Same.

Right Honourable, Whitehall, April 12th, 1625.

THE proxies being ready to go under ſeal, and the reſt of the Peers agreed, and upon the point of diſpatch, and his Majeſty's letters written to come towards you ſome time to-morrow by Mr. Coburne, ſervant of his Majeſty's, I receive order to diſpatch this expreſs to your Lordſhips, with advertiſement to you that his Majeſty hath underſtood, that an Ambaſſador of quality is intended to be ſent hither from that King, which is a work of more ſolemnity and coſt to both ſides than well befits this conjuncture, and the ſtrong alliance and friendſhip betwixt the two Kings, which challengeth rather familiarity, and mutual care of each other's coſt and convenience. And that there is not any thing which an Ambaſſador can perform, which may not be better done by the Marquis D'Effiatt. And therefore his Majeſty hath commanded me to ſignify his pleaſure unto your Lordſhips to do your beſt endeavours to ſtop his coming, which his Majeſty will take for a very acceptable office done to him.

Thanks be to God, his Majeſty is in health; the Duke in phyſic, for health's ſake. The King of Denmark hath, by much importunity, ſent Sir Robert Anſtruther hither, with ſo ſingular a teſtimony of ſtrong affection and gallant reſolution, that, without any other aſſurance than the words of his Majeſty's Ambaſſadors, he hath met in perſon with the Lower Saxe Courts, and ſome other Princes, to ſatisfy whoſe fears, he hath raiſed, put into armies, and holds in readineſs, 10,000 foot, and 4000 horſe. And if his Majeſty will comply with him, according to the promiſes given him, he purpoſes to be in the field by the 16th of May, with 25,000 foot, and 7000 horſe. I go too far in your Lordſhips trouble, conſidering I ſhall to-morrow

trouble

CHARLES I. 1625.

trouble you again, and for this I beg pardon now, and, with assurance of the continuance of them, even for your own virtues sake, I present you my humble service, continuing in the condition of

Your Lordships, &c. &c.

From the Same to Lord Doncaster.

Right Honourable, Whitehall, April 28th, 1625.

HIS Majesty hath commanded me to accompany this worthy gentleman Sir Francis Nethersole (Secretary to his dear sister, and Resident for his Majesty for the affairs of Germany) with letters of direction to your Lordships to induce that King, by all the convenient ways that may be possible, to continue his aids for the recovery of the Palatinate, but with such a declaration, as may answer the spirit of the end for which those forces are employed, which is, to put his Majesty's dear brother into such authority or nomination, as, how specious soever it be, yet it may not leave him like a forgotten or unknown man in the army; which part his Majesty recommends to your judgments so to negociate, as may turn most to the advantage of the end propounded.

His Majesty hath added one commandment more, that your Lordships solicit that King for the company of Gens D'Arms to be conferred upon the Prince Edward, one of the King of Bohemia's sons. I did mean to have put this letter into Sir Francis Nethersole's hands, to deliver to your Lordships; but desire to accommodate you, for your own particulars, hath put me off that; the relation whereof, I recommend to your trusty and diligent Mr. Lorkin; only my duty enjoins me to inform you, that upon a conference to-day at my Lord Treasurer's house, at which was present the Lord Treasurer, the

Duke of Buckingham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and myſelf (aſſiſted with Burlamachi and Van Lore), we, in fine, diſcovered, that there was no order come from France for the payment of one penny, which hath much diſordered the buſineſs here. And your Lordſhips muſt think of cauſing the money to come in ſpecie, or I ſee not how that article concerning the portion can be accompliſhed in any reaſonable time, for when one day is broken, I know not what day will be kept. CHARLES I. 1625.

Mr. Lorkin doth uſe miraculous diligence concerning your Lordſhips arrears. I hope to get aſſignation to Burlamachi to pay ſo much in Paris out of the portion; but if your Lordſhips can raiſe it thence, his Majeſty is pleaſed to give order for the repayment of it. Even here I break off my letter, and ſought out his Majeſty to have a warrant ſigned to the Treaſurer for your Lordſhips 4000 *l.*, which I have procured, and doubt not but that Mr. Lorkin will get you the money, and follow this. And to ſatisfy your Lordſhips of every pace we go, I diſpatch this to you, having written it by ſnatches, and having given way to many interruptions, beſides two or three long ones in your Lordſhips ſervice, for which cauſe I beſeech you forgive every diſjointed part of this, and vouchſafe the humble preſentation of my ſervice, which ſhall ever be performed to you with ſuch faith and duty, as ſhall juſtify my aſſurance to ſtile myſelf

Your Lordſhips, &c. &c.

P. S. Francis Netherſole brings with him the copy of Count Mansfelt's commiſſion to communicate to your Lordſhips.

CHARLES I. 1625.

From the Same to Lords Carliſle and Holland.

Right Honourable, Whitehall, May 5th, 1625.

IT is impoſſible for ſo dull an expreſſion as mine to ſet out to life, the general contentment and applauſe that all faces and voices made for the joyful news your Lordſhips gave of the happy knot tied between the moſt excellent perſons of the King and Queen of England, and the hearty prayers formed by every man, and Amen to each other.

But when I ſhould obſerve the diſtreſs his Majeſty was in, to pay the ſacrifice of joy to his Miſtreſs, and duty of gravity to his kingly wiſdom, I want the art to divide that hair; only I muſt tell you, he diſcovered what he ſought to hide, and all learnt to increaſe their joy by his.

The next is to let your Lordſhips know, that his Majeſty is well pleaſed that you return with the Queen, and by this doth give you leave. But becauſe, even as I am writing this, I conceive it were fit you had a letter for that King from his Majeſty, I will enquire better, and, if need be, move for it, and diſpatch it to you by an expreſs, continuing for ever according to my infinite obligations,

Your Lordſhips, &c. &c.

P. S. If I could be ſilent, I would ſay nothing of this gentleman, whoſe good affection leads him to deſire this journey. And being ſo well known unto your Lordſhips as he is, and your noble courteſies being ſo free to all men, I ſhall not need to move your Lordſhips to take knowledge of his merit, yet wiſh him the happineſs of your favour.

CHARLES I. 1625.

From the Harleian Collection.

Account of the vaſtly rich cloaths of the Duke of Buckingham, the number of his Servants and of the noble Perſonages in his train, when he went to Paris, A. D. 1625, to bring over Queen Henrietta Maria.

[This is a ſingular ſpecimen of the luxurious magnificence of that great favourite.]

My Lord Duke is intended to take his journey towards Paris, on Wedneſday the 31ſt of March.

HIS Grace hath for his body, twenty ſeven rich ſuits embroidered, and laced with ſilk and ſilver pluſhes; beſides one rich white ſatin uncut velvet ſuit, ſet all over, both ſuit and cloak, with diamonds, the value whereof is thought to be worth fourſcore thouſand pounds, beſides a feather made with great diamonds; with ſword, girdle, hatband and ſpurs with diamonds, which ſuit his Grace intends to enter into Paris with. Another rich ſuit is of purple ſatin, embroidered all over with rich orient pearls; the cloak made after the Spaniſh faſhion, with all things ſuitable, the value whereof will be 20,000 *l.* and this is thought ſhall be for the wedding-day in Paris. His other ſuits are all rich as invention can frame, or art faſhion. His colours for the entrance are white pwatchett, and for the wedding crimſon and gold.

Three rich ſuits a-piece,

Twenty Privy Gentlemen; ſeven Grooms of his chamber; thirty Chief Yeomen; two Maſter Cooks.

Of his own ſervants for the Houſehold,

Twenty-five ſecond Cooks; fourteen Yeomen of the ſecond rank, ſeventeen Grooms to them; forty-five Labourers Selletters belonging to the kitchen.

CHARLES I. 1625.

Twelve Pages, three rich ſuits a-piece; twenty four Footmen, three rich ſuits, and two rich coats a-piece; ſix Huntſmen, two rich ſuits a-piece; twelve Grooms one ſuit a-piece; ſix Riders, one ſuit a-piece; beſides eight others to attend the ſtable buſineſs.

Three rich velvet coaches inſide; without with gold lace all over; eight horſes in each coach, and ſix coachmen richly ſuited; eight-ſcore muſicians richly ſuited; twenty-two watermen, ſuited in ſky-coloured taffety, all gilded with anchors, and my Lord's arms; all theſe to row in one barge of my Lord's. All theſe ſervants have every thing ſuitable, all being at his Grace's charge.

Lords already known to go,

Marquis Hamilton,	Mr. Villars,
Earl Dorſet,	Mr. Edward Howard,
Earl Denbigh,	Lord Preſident's * two ſons,
Earl Montgomery,	Mr. William Legar,
Earl Warwick,	Mr. Francis Anſlowe,
Earl Angleſea,	Mr. Edward Goring,
Earl Saliſbury,	Mr. Walter Steward.
Lord Walden,	

Beſides twenty-four Knights of great worth, all which will carry ſix or ſeven Pages a-piece, and as many Footmen. This whole train will be ſix or ſeven hundred perſons at leaſt. When this liſt is perfect, there will appear many more than I have named.

* Lord Mancheſter.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Letter of Richard III. *to the Biſhop of Lincoln.*

From the Harleian library.

[This letter is an additional proof of the falſhood of the traditional ſtory about Jane Shore, and confirms Sir Thomas More's account of her, *in his pitiful hiſtory*.—That Lord Haſtings had ſucceeded Edward the Fourth, in her affections, is well known; but perhaps the reader now learns for the firſt time, that after her penance, ſhe had another admirer, who *made a contract of matrimony* with her.]

BY THE KING.

RIGHT Reverend Father in God, &c. Signifying unto you, that it is ſhewed unto us, that our ſervant and ſollicitor, Thomas Lynom, marvellouſly blinded and abuſed with the late wife of William Shore, now being in Ludgate by our commandment, hath made contract of matrimony with her, as it is ſaid, and intendeth, to our full great marvel, to proceed to effect of the ſame. We, for many cauſes, would be ſorry that he ſo ſhould be diſpoſed; pray you therefore to ſend for him, and in that ye goodly may exhort and ſtir him to the contrary. And if ye find him utterly ſet for to marry her, and none otherwiſe would be advertiſed, then, if it may

RICHARD III. 1484.

ſtand with the law of the church, we be content the time of marriage be deferred to our coming next to London; that, upon ſufficient ſurety found of her good abearing, ye do ſend for her keeper, and diſcharge him of our ſaid commandment, by warrant of theſe, committing her to the rule and guiding of her father, or any other, by your diſcretion, in the mean ſeaſon. Given, &c.

To the Right Reverend Father in God,
The Biſhop of Lincoln, our Chancellor.

ELIZABETH. 1588.

No. II.

The Earl of Leiceſter to Queen Elizabeth.

From the original in the Paper-office.

[This letter, which produced the memorable and popular viſit of Queen Elizabeth to her camp at Tilbury, was omitted in its proper place; and it is hoped, the ſubject will juſtify the inſerting it here.]

July the 27th, 1588*.

MY moſt dear and gracious Lady! It is moſt true that theſe enemies that approach your kingdom and perſon, are your undeſerved foes, and being ſo, hating you for a righteous cauſe, there is the leſs fear to be had of their malice or their forces; for there is a moſt juſt God that beholdeth the innocency of your heart; and the cauſe you are aſſailed for is his and his church's; and he never failed any that faithfully do put their chief truſt in his goodneſs. He hath, to comfort you withal, given you great and mighty means to defend yourſelf; which means, I doubt not but your Majeſty will timely and princely uſe; and your good God that ruleth all, will aſſiſt you and bleſs you with victory.

It doth much rejoice me, to find, by your letter, your noble diſpoſition, as well in preſent gathering your forces, as in employing your own perſon in this dangerous action. And becauſe it pleaſeth your Majeſty to aſk mine advice touching your army, and to acquaint me with your ſecret determination for your perſon; I will plainly and according to my poor knowledge, deliver my opinion to you. For your army, it is more than time † it were gathered, and

* The Earl died in the beginning of the September following.

† Sir John Smith, an old ſoldier, in his curious treatiſe of the tactics of this time, gives but an indifferent account of the formation and diſcipline of this army, which he ſaw encamped; ſo it was very fortunate the veteran troops in the Low Countries did not land.

ELIZABETH. 1588.

about you, or ſo near you, as you may have the uſe of it upon few hours warning; the reaſon is, that your mighty enemies are at hand, and if God ſuffer them to paſs by your fleet, you are ſure they will attempt their purpoſe in landing with all expedition. And albeit your navy be very ſtrong, yet, as we have always heard, the other is not only far greater, but their forces of men much beyond your's; elſe were it in vain for them to bring only a navy provided to keep the ſea. But, ſo furniſhed, as to both keep the ſeas with ſtrength ſufficient, and to land ſuch a power as may give battle to any Prince; as, no doubt, if the Prince of Parma come forth, their forces by ſea ſhall not only be greatly augmented, but his power to land ſhall the eaſier take effect, whereſoever he will attempt; therefore it is moſt requiſite for your Majeſty to be provided for all events, of as great force every where as you can deviſe. For there is no dalliance at ſuch a time, nor with ſuch an enemy; you ſhall hazard your own honour, beſide your perſon and country, and muſt offend your gracious God, that gave you theſe forces and power, and will not uſe them when you ſhould. Now for the placing of your army; no doubt but I think, about London, the meeteſt for my part; and ſuppoſe others will be of the ſame mind; and that your Majeſty do forthwith give the charge thereof, to ſome ſpecial nobleman about you; and likewiſe do place all your chief officers; that every man may know what he ſhall do; and gather as many good horſes, above all things, as you can, and the oldeſt, beſt, and aſſuredeſt Captains, to lead; for therein will conſiſt the greateſt hope of good ſucceſs, under God. And as ſoon as your army is aſſembled, that they be, by and by, exerciſed, every man to know his weapon; and that there be all other things prepared in readineſs for your army, as if they ſhould march upon a day's warning; eſpecially carriages, and a commiſſary of victuals, and your maſter of ordnance. Of

theſe

theſe things, but for your Majeſty's commandment, others can ſay more than I, and partly there is orders already ſet down. ELIZABETH. 1588.

Now for your perſon, being the moſt dainty and ſacred thing we have in this world to care for, much more for advice to be given for the direction of it, a man muſt tremble when he thinks of it; ſpecially finding your Majeſty to have that princely courage, to tranſport yourſelf to the utmoſt confines of your realm, to meet your enemies and to defend your ſubjects. I cannot, moſt dear Queen, conſent to that; for upon your well doing conſiſts all the ſafety of your whole kingdom; and therefore preſerve that above all. Yet will I not that, in ſome ſort, ſo princely and ſo rare a magnanimity ſhould not appear to your people and the world as it is. And thus far, if it pleaſe your Majeſty, you may do, to draw yourſelf to your houſe at Havering; and your army being about London, at Stratford, Eaſt Ham, and the villages thereabout, ſhall be always not only a defence, but a ready ſupply to theſe counties, Eſſex and Kent, if need be. And in the mean time, your Majeſty, to comfort this army, and people of both counties, may, if it pleaſe you, ſpend two or three days to ſee both the camp and the forts. It is not above fourteen miles at moſt from Havering, and a very convenient place for your Majeſty to lie by the way, and ſo reſt you at the camp. I truſt you will be pleaſed with your * Lieutenant's cabbin; and within a mile there is a gentleman's houſe, where your Majeſty may alſo be. You ſhall comfort not only theſe thouſands, but many more that ſhall hear of it. And thus far, but no farther, can I conſent to adventure your perſon. And by the grace of God, there can be no danger in this, though the enemy ſhould paſs by your fleet. But your Majeſty may without diſhonour return to your own forts being but at hand; and you may have two thouſand horſe, well to be lodged at Rumford and other villages near Havering; and your footmen to lodge near London.

* The Earl himſelf.

Laſtly,

ELIZ'A-BETH. 1588.

Laſtly, for myſelf, I ſee, moſt gracious Lady, you know what will moſt comfort a faithful ſervant; for there is nothing in this world I take that joy in, that I do in your good favour; and it is no ſmall favour to ſend to your poor ſervant, thus to viſit him. I can yield no recompence, but the like ſacrifice I owe to God, which is a thankful heart, and humbly next my ſoul to him, to offer body, life and all, to do you acceptable ſervice; and ſo will pray to God, not only for preſent victory over all your enemies, but longeſt life, to ſee the end of all thoſe that wiſh you evil, and make me ſo happy as to do you ſome ſervice.

From Graveſend, ready to go to your poor, but moſt willing ſoldiers. This Saturday the 27th July.

Your Majeſty's, &c.

R. LEYCESTER.

P. S. I have taken the beſt order I can poſſibly with the Lieutenants of Kent, to be preſent at Dover themſelves, and to keep there three or four thouſand men to ſupply my Lord Admiral, if he come thither, and with any thing elſe that there is to be had. I wiſh there might be ſome quantity of more powder ſent to lie in Dover, for all needs.

No. III.

Letters from the Commanders of the Fleet, about the Spaniſh Armada.

From the originals in the Paper-office.

[The zeal and activity which theſe great ſeamen exerted at this important criſis, will always endear their memory to the nation.]

From Sir Francis Drake to Secretary Walſingham, from aboard the Revenge.

June the 24th, 1588.

ALTHOUGH I do very well know, that your Honour ſhall be at large advertiſed by my very good Lord, the Lord Admiral, that the Spaniſh forces are deſcried to be near at hand, in ſeveral companies, on our coaſt, as it is reported for certain by three barks, unto whom they gave chace and made ſhot; yet have I thought it good alſo to write theſe few lines unto your Honour, nothing doubting but that (with God's aſſiſtance) they ſhall be ſo ſought out, and encountered withall, in ſuch ſort, as I hope will qualify their malicious and long pretended practices. And therefore I beſeech your Honour to pray continually for our good ſucceſs in this action, to the performance whereof we have all reſolutely avowed the adventure of our lives.

ELIZABETH. 1588.

From the Lord Admiral† to the Same.

SIR, July the 6th, 1588.

BEING here in the midſt of the Channel of the Sleeve, on Friday being the 5th of this month, I received your letter of the 28th of June, and another of the ſame date, which was written after you had made up your packet.

The cauſe of the long time that theſe letters were in coming unto me was, becauſe the purſuivant embarking himſelf upon the Monday at Plymouth, was fain to beat up and down the ſea with a contrary wind until Tueſday, before he could find me.

By your firſt letter, I find how greatly you ſtand aſſured, that neither the French King, nor the havens and port towns, that ſtand for the King, will give any help or aſſiſtance unto the Spaniſh army. As for New Haven, it is not a place that can ſerve their turns.

By your other letter you perceive, by an advertiſement you have from my brother Stafford, that there is money ſent down to Breſt and Conqueſt, for the relief and aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh fleet, if they arrive there. I wiſh with all my heart, that they were with the beſt * * * * *‡ they could give them. It ſhould not be long after, but that I would give them another welcome. For if it be they mean to touch there, then aſſuredly they have a meaning to join forces with the Duke of Parma. I have no doubt, but that Lord Henry Seymour, being ſo ſtrong as he is, will have a care, that he ſhall not ſtart any whither to meet them. And it ſhall be very well that you have ſome truſty eſpial there, to give certain intelligence when the Duke's forces ſhall be ready, that then my Lord Henry

† Lord Charles Howard, afterwards Earl of Nottingham.

‡ This and ſeveral other ſuch gaps, in this letter, could not be filled up, the original being much decayed.

Seymour

Seymour may lie in the mouth of their haven to intercept their coming forth. ELIZABETH. 1588.

I am ſorry to perceive by your letter, that her Majeſty hath no more care to have forces about her; conſidering the great peril that may come by neglecting that which ſhould be done in time. I have written unto her Majeſty very earneſtly about it; and, I hope, that God will put into her mind to do that which may tend moſt to her ſafety.

I am ſure you have ſeen the letter which I ſent unto her Majeſty, of the diſcovery of certain of the Spaniſh fleet not far off Scilly, which made me to make as much haſte out to ſea as I could; for upon Sunday our victuals came to us, and having the wind at north-eaſt, I would not ſtay the taking in of them all; but taking in ſome part of them, I appointed the reſt to follow with me, and ſo bore to Scilly, thinking to have cut off thoſe Spaniſh ſhips ſeen there, from the reſt of their fleet; but the wind continued not ſixteen hours there, but turned South South-Weſt, that we were fain to lie off and on in the Sleeve, and could go no farther.

Then did I ſend Sir Francis Drake, with half a ſcore ſhips and three or four pinnaces, to diſcover. In his way, hard aboard Uſhant, he met with a man of mine, whom I had ſent in a bark, ten days before, to lie off and on there for diſcovery, who had met with an Iriſh bark, and ſtaid her, which had been on the 22d taken by eighteen great ſhips of the Spaniſh fleet, ſixteen leagues South South-Weſt of Scilly. They had taken out of the ſaid bark five of her moſt principal men, and left in her but three men and a boy. One of the greateſt Spaniſh ſhips towed her at her ſtern by a cable, which in the night time, the wind blowing ſomewhat ſtiff, broke, and ſo ſhe eſcaped in the ſtorm. This did aſſure us greatly, that the Spaniſh fleet was broken in the ſtorms afore; and, by all likelihood, we conjectured, if the wind had continued northerly, that they would have

ELIZABETH. 1588.

returned back again for the Groyne; but * * * * * wind hath ſerved theſe ſix or ſeven days * * * * muſt look for them every hour if they mean to come hither.

Sir, I ſent a fine Spaniſh carvell on, eight days agone, to the Groyne to learn intelligence, ſuch a one as would not have been miſtruſted; but when ſhe was fifty leagues on her way, this ſouther-ly wind forced her back again unto us. Therefore I pray you, if you hear or underſtand of any news or advertiſements by land, that I may hear of them from you with expedition.

I have divided myſelf here in three parts, and yet we lie within ſight of one another; ſo as if any of us do diſcover the Spaniſh fleet, we give notice thereof preſently the one to the other, and thereupon repair and aſſemble together. I myſelf do lie in the midſt of the channel with the greateſt force. Sir Francis Drake hath twenty ſhips and four or five pinnaces, which lie towards Uſhant; and Mr. Hawkins, with as many more, lieth towards Scilly. Thus are we fain to do; or elſe, with this wind, they might paſs by, and we never the wiſer. Whatſoever had been made of the Sleeve, it is another manner of thing than it was taken for. We find it by experience, and daily obſervation, to be an hundred miles over: a large room for me to look unto. And whereas it is thought that we ſhould have regard * * * * * * forces of the Spaniſh fleet, if they ſhould bend for Scotland, they would in their way thither keep ſo far away weſtward of Cape Clear, as they would be farther from us at any time than it is betwixt England and Spain; ſo that the beſt advertiſements, that we muſt hope for, muſt be from you, by the knowledge that you ſhall have overland from Scotland, if they be diſcovered there; and then our beſt and neareſt courſe will be unto them through the nar-row ſeas, where I have no doubt but we ſhall defeat them of their fleet, whatever they do with * * * *. But, for my own part, I cannot perſuade myſelf but their intent is * * * * * * * * * *. Where there

there are ſo many doubts we muſt work by the likelieſt ways, and leave unto God to direct for the beſt. And ſo I bid you moſt hearty farewell. From aboard her Majeſty's good ſhip the Ark, the 6th of July 1588. ELIZABETH. 1588.

Your aſſured loving friend,

HOWARD.

Sir Francis Drake to the Lord Henry Seymour.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, July 21.

I AM commanded by my good Lord, the Lord Admiral, to ſend you the carvel in haſte with theſe letters, giving your Lordſhip to underſtand, that the army of Spain arrived upon our coaſt the 20th of the preſent, and the 21ſt we had them in chace; and ſo coming up to them, there had paſſed ſome common ſhot between ſome of our fleet and ſome of them; and as far as we can perceive, they are determined to ſell their lives with blows. Whereupon his Lordſhip hath commanded me to write unto your Lordſhip and Sir William Winter, that thoſe ſhips ſerving under your charge ſhould be put into the beſt and ſtrongeſt manner you can, and ready to aſſiſt his Lordſhip, for the better encountering of them in thoſe parts where you now are. In the mean time, what his Lordſhip, and the reſt following him, may do, ſhall be ſurely performed. His Lordſhip hath commanded me to write hearty commendations to your Lordſhip and Sir William Winter. I do ſalute your Lordſhip, Sir William Winter, Sir Henry Palmer, and all the reſt of thoſe honourable gentlemen ſerving under you, with the like; beſeeching God of his mercy to give her Majeſty, our gracious ſovereign, always victory againſt her enemies. Written aboard her Majeſty's good

ELIZABETH. 1588.

ſhip the Revenge, off of Start, this 21ſt, late in the evening 1588.

Your Lordſhip's poor friend ready to be commanded,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

P. S. This letter my honourable good Lord is ſent in haſte. The fleet of Spaniards are ſomewhat above a hundred ſails, many great ſhips. But truly, I think not half of them men of war. Haſte.

Your Lordſhip's aſſured,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

From the Same to Secretary Walſingham.

Moſt Hononourable, July the 31ſt, 1588.

I AM commanded to ſend theſe priſoners aſhore by my Lord Admiral; which had, ere this, by me been done, but that I thought their being here might have done ſomething, which is not thought meet now. Let me beſeech your honour, that they may be preſented unto her Majeſty, either by your honour, or my honourable good Lord my Lord Chancellor, or both of you. The one, Don Pedro, is a man of great eſtimation with the King of Spain, and thought next in this army to the Duke of Sidonia. If they ſhould be given from me unto any other, it would be ſome grief to my friends. If her Majeſty will have them, God defend, but I ſhould think it happy.

We have the army of Spain before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wreſtle a pull with him. There was never any thing pleaſed better, than the ſeeing the enemy flying with a ſoutherly wind to the northwards.

God grant we have a good eye to the Duke of Parma; for, with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not, but ere it be long, ſo to handle

handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he ſhall wiſh himſelf at St. Mary port, among his vine trees. ELIZABETH. 1588.

God give us grace to depend upon him; ſo ſhall we not doubt victory; for our cauſe is good. Humbly taking my leave, this laſt of July, 1588.

Your honour's faithfully to be commanded ever,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

I crave pardon of your honour for my haſte, for that I had the watch this laſt night upon the enemy.

Your's ever,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

From the Same to the Queen.

Auguſt the 8th, 1588.

THE abſence of my Lord Admiral, moſt gracious ſovereign, hath emboldened me to put my pen to the paper. On Friday laſt, upon good conſideration, we caſt the army of Spain ſo far to the northwards, as they could neither recover England nor Scotland; and within three days after, we were entertained with a great ſtorm conſidering the time of year, the which in many of our judgments hath not a little [illegible] the enemy way.

If the wind hinders it not, I think they are forced to Denmark, and that for divers cauſes. Certain it is, that many of their people were ſick and not a few killed; their ſhips, ſails, ropes and waſte, needeth great reparations, for that they had all felt of your Majeſty's forces. If your Majeſty thought it meet, it were not amiſs you ſent preſently to Denmark, to underſtand the truth, and to deal with that King according to your Majeſty's great wiſdom. I have not written this whereby your Majeſty ſhould diminiſh any of your forces. Your

ELIZABETH. 1588.

Highneſs's enemies are many; yet God hath and will hear your Majeſty's prayers, putting your hand to the plough for the defence of his truth, as your Majeſty hath begun. God, for his truth's ſake, bleſs your ſacred Majeſty now and ever. Written aboard your Majeſty's good ſhip the Revenge, this 8th of Auguſt, 1588.

Your Majeſty's faithful vaſſal,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

From the Same to Secretary Walſingham.

Auguſt the 10th, 1588.

REASONS why he thinks, that the Spaniſh fleet is gone to Norway or Denmark; that the King of Denmark can beſt help their wants.

The Prince of Parma, I take him to be as a bear robbed of her whelps; and no doubt, but being ſo great ſoldier as he is, that he will preſently, if he may, undertake ſome great matter, for his reſt will ſtand now thereupon. It is for certain, that the Duke of Sidonia ſtandeth ſomewhat jealous of him, and the Spaniards begin to hate him, their honour being touched ſo near, and many of their lives ſpent. I aſſure your Honour not ſo little as five thouſand men leſs, than when we firſt ſaw them near Plymouth; divers of their ſhips ſunk and taken; and they have nothing to ſay for themſelves in excuſe, but that they came to the place appointed, which was at Calais, and there ſtaid the Duke of Parma's coming above twenty-four hours, yea, and until they were fired out. So this is my poor concluſion, if we may recover near Dunkirk this night, or to-morrow morning, ſo as their power may ſee us returned from the Channel, and ready to encounter them, if they once ſally, that the next news you ſhall hear, will be the one to meeting againſt the other; which when it ſhall come to paſs, or whether they meeting or no, let us all with

with one conſent, both high and low, magnify and praiſe our moſt gracious and merciful God, for his infinite and unſpeakable goodneſs towards us. ELIZABETH. 1588.

Written with much haſte, for that we are ready to ſet ſail to prevent the Duke of Parma, this ſoutherly wind, if it pleaſe God; for, truly, my poor opinion is, that we ſhould have a great eye upon him.

P. S. Since the writing hereof, I have ſpoken with an Engliſhman, which came from Dunkirk yeſterday; who ſaith, upon his life, there is no fear of the fleet. Yet would I willingly ſee it.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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Hardwicke, Philip Yorke,
2d Earl of (ed.)
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